

Alan Bullock has recently completed the work of more than 20 years with the publication of his third and final volume of his biography of ERNEST BEVIN. Paul Flather talks to Lord Bullock in the first of an occasional series of interviews with academic authors (page 12) and Christopher Thorne reviews Ernest Bevin: Foreign Secretary (page 18)



Did Robbins get the sums right? Yes, in outline; no, in detail is the verdict of GARETH WILLIAMS who also emphasizes how little attention the committee paid to who would pay for its university expansion (page 13)

The sometimes difficult relationship between TOWN AND GOWN is one of the oldest of all university issues, but one of growing importance. Peter Collier reports on a survey that finds it is closer and more friendly than many suppose (page 16)

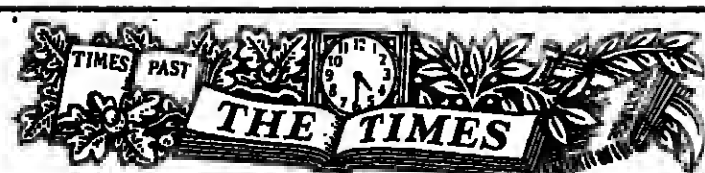


JOHN KENNEDY was assassinated in Dallas 20 years ago. Alan Wolfe and Morris Dickstein offer contrasting views of the mixture of myth and achievement that made up the New Frontier (pages 16 and 17)

Home news	1-8
Letters to the editor	2
Don's Diary (Frank Rhodes)	4
Party Line (Ian Wrigglesworth)	6
Union View (ALSC)	7
Overseas news	9-10
Articles	11-17
Books	18-20
Technology	22-24
Noticeboard	27
Classified advertisements	28-31

NEXT WEEK

Norman Gash on Prince Albert
D. Lynden-Bell on Black Holes
Adrian Cadbury on the next 20 years
Commonwealth higher education programme
New politics books
Interview with Athol Fugard



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Never mind the width . . .

Quality assurance in higher education has always been a sensitive and so a tricky business. In the 1960s and 1970s it also did not seem to be a high priority. Doubts about the quality of teaching in universities certainly and polytechnics and colleges almost as certainly were rare and in an expanding system islands of mediocrity could be regarded with tolerant complacency. The outcome was that across large parts of higher education quality assurance became a "no go" area.

This will have to change in the 1980s and indeed is already changing. Despite some recent well publicized HMI reports on polytechnic departments and the continuing under-cover war of black propaganda against the social sciences serious doubts about the overall quality of courses and departments in higher education are probably as rare as ever. But because of the contraction of the system islands of mediocrity can no longer be tolerated with such easy complacency. It may have been tolerable, although it was certainly not desirable, for growth to have been a higgledy-piggledy process; the sad sharing of unnecessary cuts on the other hand has to be informed by sound judgments about quality. Both the University Grants Committee and now the National Advisory Body need to take more account of quality—not so much to punish the mediocre but to protect the best.

The UGC of course made quality judgments in its highly discriminatory allocation of the much reduced university grant in 1981. But these judgments were so entwined with other judgments about which universities were using their resources more effectively about the need to secure an overall shift from non-science to science, and so on that the UGC quality judgments were not explicit. Quality assurance in the university system at the level both of the UGC and of individual universities remains an informal business. Its strength is seen as resting not in elaborate bureaucratic structures but in knowledge networks through which informal information about quality can be reliably communicated.

Its informality however can be a source of weakness in two respects. First it is vulnerable to the charge that it is not effective, that the judgments of the UGC and its sub-committees are

naïve and out-of-date, that research councils views are narrow and partial and that external examining is a sham. If this view gains powerful adherents the universities will come under pressure to make their procedures more formal and bureaucratic. There are already signs that this is happening. The final Leverhulme report supported the convergence of practice between the university and non-university sectors and suggested that the universities should establish an academic review body, presumably a (the?) Council for National Academic Awards but with responsibilities for broad accreditation rather than detailed validation.

The same thought clearly lurks behind the banding of question 18 in the UGC's recent circular letter which asks for views of possible ways of accrediting or validating university courses. The vice chancellors sensing danger have set up a small group under Professor Philip Reynolds of Lancaster. Its formal agenda is to examine ways to maintain and improve standards; its real agenda is to head off demands that the universities be subjected to some CNA-style regime.

The second source of weakness is that formal systems of control can be abused. Because there are no clear rules, because in many cases there is no clear information about the criteria on which judgments are being made or even by whom they are being made, prejudice can flourish under the disguise of concern for standards. To take two examples, it is widely believed that the UGC in 1981 discriminated against the technological universities and that the social sciences are the victims of sustained and officially-inspired discrimination. The first is almost certainly false; the second is certainly true. But both could easily exploit the informality of quality assurance in the universities. There is a further consideration. Even without ill will the lack of clear rules is likely to discriminate against new subjects and unconventional approaches to old ones because the quality assessors will naturally play safe.

On the other side of the binary line quality is also an issue of growing importance. The NAB itself of course does not possess the same academic infrastructure as the UGC. Indeed in the light of the much larger number of

institutions with which the NAB has a relationship and the much more heterogeneous courses in the polytechnics and colleges it is difficult to see how the academic intelligence for the whole non-university sector could be concentrated in a single agency.

In any case the experience of the CNA and the Business and Technicians Education Council, and more arguably of HMI Inspectorate, in quality assurance more than makes up for the inexperience of the NAB. The problem here is the opposite of that in the universities—too many agencies concerned with quality, too much formal information, too many rules that inhibit its easy transfer. A lot of work will have to go into refining the relationship between the NAB and its academic intelligence providers. But in the end good working relations can be established. The decisions by the CNA and the Inspectorate to come clean about their pecking orders in town planning are a hopeful start.

Some will argue that the CNA and other validating bodies should refuse to rank courses in this way because it will destroy the necessary trust that exists between institutions and validators. But it is probably impossible for the academic intelligence gathered by the CNA and others to be contained in a sealed box. It will leak out somehow. The choice is between uncontrolled or at any rate unsatisfactory leakage and an open and straightforward transfer of important information regulated by proper procedures.

The short-term problem for the NAB may be to establish a stable relationship with its academic intelligence providers, but its long-term task must be to devise standards of quality that are appropriate to the future goals of the polytechnics and colleges rather than ersatz-university standards which reflect a lack of confidence in the present distinction of the non-university sector. It is the same as with the money. Just as the NAB must link the distribution of the pool to prospective rather than historic student numbers, so its quality assurance must be linked to future ambitions rather than past standards. For quality assurance can never be value-free or static. It must be a dynamic process that is informed by the changing priorities of higher education. Even the universities must be bound by that injunction.

Polyversity prospects

Polyversities are in the news—but only just. The merger between the New University of Ulster at Coleraine and the Ulster Polytechnic to form a new and comprehensive University of Ulster has naturally awakened interest in the potential of amalgamating universities and polytechnics. Similar ideas have been floated in Aberdeen, east London, and central Scotland but so far none has come down to earth. The best guess today is that by the end of the century there will be a handful of polyversities all in different ways specialized but that the essential form of the policy will be the same.

Today's interest in polyversities comes from two very different sources. The first is a residual hangover from 1960s enthusiasm for comprehensive

universities to match the contemporary evolution of comprehensive schools, an enthusiasm that was deeply offended by the development of the binary policy with its strong if misleading echoes of the grammar school-secondary modern split.

The feeling today is that the very necessary thrust towards diversity in higher education should be met by creating different types of institution rather than by obliging every institution to cover everything. The conviction has grown that any parallel with secondary schools is fundamentally incompatible with the greater complexity of the tasks covered by higher education, and that the average polytechnic covers just about as wide a spectrum of courses, subjects, levels, and modes as is sensible.

The second source of interest in polyversities is the growing interest in rationalization which might involve much stronger cooperation, if not outright merger, across the binary line. That is clearly the predominant motive in all the present proposals for university-polytechnic mergers. It makes good sense not to exclude sensible arrangements for rationalization simply because they straddle some arbitrary frontier established in 1965. Indeed in certain circumstances it might be irresponsible to exclude polyversities from the list of active options. For the 1980s at any rate polyversities are much more likely to emerge as pragmatic rearrangements of existing institutions than as ideological instruments that aim to supersede the binary policy.

International platitudes

International political and cultural organizations are all too often less than the sum of their parts. If they involve many countries, their delegates and administrators are tempted to feel they are only fitted to deal with the most momentous problems. But the same breadth of involvement frequently dictates a dilution of argument and opinion.

Sadly all these things are true of the Council of Europe's work in higher education and research. The council brings together 21 Western European countries in an institution which promotes cultural cooperation and dialogue by its conference of university and

year 2000 in Strasbourg last week, its aspirations toward playing out a role in coordinating European higher education policy may outrun its ability to set up productive discussions.

To be sure, the conference established higher education institutions across Europe face similar problems. But there was little else constructive to observe. Overall, the meeting presented a deeply disappointing spectacle of international platitudes for non-platitudes.

The work of the Council of Europe, and the BSF in the 1980s, has been a small office in the old town in Strasbourg, one from a palace of modern architecture in the new town, evoked a vision from the 1970s. In European collaboration and in beautiful

Laurie Taylor



I wonder if we might now turn to Question Number 3 in the UGC letter. That's the first paragraph on page four. I'm sorry, vice chancellor, what page did you say?

That's perfectly all right, Professor Dreyfus. It is a very long letter and there are a large number of questions. This particular question—Question 3—is on page four. Page four, vice chancellor?

That's it, Doctor Kernitz. But let me read it aloud so that there can be no chance of confusion. Excuse me, vice chancellor.

Yes, Doctor Comstock? I wondered, sir, and I only raise it because I believe there might be some around the table who share my opinion, but I wonder if it would be at all helpful if you were to read the question aloud.

Thank you, Doctor Comstock, I'm most grateful for your timely intervention. Well, Question 3 reads: "Should a significant number of institutions be closed between 1990 and 1994, and if so, what criteria and what machinery should decide which?" So this is a read it—a perfectly straightforward question about whether we think a significant number of universities should be closed between 1990 and 1994—and if so—why. Yes, Professor Swinefleet, would you like to get it started on this one?

Certainly, sir. With reference to the first part of the question, may I propose three. Three universities for closure. Thank you, Professor Swinefleet. A modest and helpful proposal, is there a second? Yes, thank you, Doctor Comstock. Well, that seems to meet with general agreement. Three it is. Now may we be a little more specific. Which particular institutions would seem to us to be best suited for this course of action? Professor Blandford? May I propose Leicester, sir?

Good. This is most constructive. Any other suggestions? Yes, Doctor Kernitz? Erm, Manchester, sir. Seconded. And erm . . . and erm . . . Huddersfield. Well, Doctor Kernitz, I think perhaps your enthusiasm is running away with you there . . . Erm, Hullfax, sir . . . no, no . . . Hull. Hull, that's it. Hull. Seconded.

Fine. That's Leicester, Manchester and Hull for closure. Any other nominations? Jolly good. Can I see those in favour? Virtually unanimous. Now may we turn to the second part of this question and delineate the criteria which lie behind our choice. And, of course, here we need to concentrate upon what one might call matters of general principle. Can anyone offer me a form of words? Yes, Professor Teetlebbaum?

Well, sir, I was thinking of something on the following lines: "Anywhere at all erm"

Yes, please go on, Professor Teetlebbaum. This is a really sound most promising. Well, sir, how about: "Anywhere at all so long as it's not us"

That'll do nicely.

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"There must be a match somewhere!" A contestant from Huddersfield Polytechnic architecture department concentrates hard on building the world's largest matchbox structure in the final of the Soundaround Mighty Matchbox Build. Queen's University, Belfast students built the tallest in the competition, held to raise money for the national sound magazine for the blind.

Kingman to be Bristol v-c

Professor John Kingman is to resign as chairman of the Science and Engineering Research Council a year early to succeed Sir Alec Morrison as vice-chancellor of Bristol University. Professor Kingman, aged 44, will take up the Bristol appointment in September 1985. Sir Alec retires in October 1984 and a decision about a temporary vice-chancellor will be made in the new year.

Professor Kingman (right) was educated at Christ's College, Eton, and Pembroke College, Cambridge. He was a fellow of Pembroke, from 1961 to 1965 and university lecturer from 1964 to 1965. A reader in mathematics and statistics at Sussex from 1965 to 1969 and professor of mathematics at Oxford and became chairman of the SERC in 1981. He was elected to the Royal Society in 1971 and this year was awarded a Royal Medal of the Royal Society. He has published four books and 90 papers in mathematics and statistical journals.

He is married to Valerie Cromwell, a reader in history at the University of Sussex.

NAB plans new exercise for former education colleges

The former colleges of education were grouped this week for a special new planning exercise as the National Advisory Body completed its recommendations on the distribution of students in polytechnics and colleges.

Three days of talks in the NAB committee, chaired by Mr Peter Brooks, under secretary for higher education, produced agreement on a high profile in overall student numbers compared with the board's proposals. But another meeting will be needed to finalize details of a new system.

No grievances were given to the three colleges with closure or merger proposals were averted. The merger and closure of the five inner-London colleges has been put off until Christmas to reconcile the

NAB plan with its own review of higher education. Mr John Bevan, the NAB secretary, said that Fleetwood Nautical College had been the sixth institution thought to be at risk, but it was now accepted that the college would survive the loss of all its advanced courses.

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Double blow sparks fear of more university cuts

by Ngaio Crequer and David Jobbins

The universities suffered a double disappointment this week which reawakened fears that they are to be given no relief from further cuts when the present three-year contraction is complete.

The first blow was the news that next year's recurrent grant is to be £17m less than the provisional total for 1984/85 promised by the Government as recently as July. Although this is only a 1.4 per cent cut, vice chancellors fear it is a sign that heavier cuts are on the way in the later 1980s.

The second blow was the news that the University Grants Committee's £100m restructuring fund is now fully committed and no further bids can be accepted. This has happened because the cost of redundancies has been heavier than expected and because the fund was raided to avoid reductions in this year's recurrent grant when the Chancellor imposed his emergency cuts package in July.

The UGC has confirmed its commitment to meet all eligible redundancy claims and part-time staff costs, but it has decided "to suspend for the time being our support for new proposals covering other aspects of restructuring". This applies to all bids received after October 27.

Figures reported last week to the Universities Superannuation Scheme show that since April 1981 2,715 academic and related staff have retired early. In July the universities were told the Government had in mind a figure of around £1,270m for 1984/85, excluding provision for new blood and information technology. The total of £1,265m which was announced last week includes £12m for new blood and IT, making the figure £17m below projections.

£2m adult cash claim is rejected

by Felicity Jones

Local authorities have rejected a statement made by Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Education in reply to a Parliamentary question that an extra £2m has been earmarked for the education of the adult unemployed.

The Association of County Councils and the Association of Metropolitan Authorities told the education secretary earlier this month that they would not accept any government claims that new money was available for promoting education in areas of special need.

They say that local education authorities everywhere will have to cope with a budget reduction of 6 per cent in real terms and any so-called "additional" money would have to have been taken from elsewhere.

The ACC and AMA told Sir Keith they calculated that their spending next year would be 4½ per cent higher than the 1983/84 Rate Support Grant settlement figure and that even the lowest spending authorities will be faced with a 3 per cent cut.

The Department of Education says the £2m should be aimed at the long-term unemployed.

Science budget topped up

by Jon Turney, Science Correspondent

Next year's science budget has been topped up by £6m to help meet higher subscriptions to overseas laboratories.

And negotiations are under way between the Department of Education and Science and the Treasury to try to raise the increase even further.

DES sources say there are hopes of securing the full £9m the Science and Engineering Research Council was seeking. As it stands the total science budget announced last week is £549m.

If the further increase does not come, the country's domestic nuclear physics will suffer most, with the SERC's particle physics committee likely to lose 10 per cent of its £15m budget. This would almost certainly mean redundancies at council establishments.

The case for a bigger increase has been strengthened by a timely letter from a group of particle physicists to the Prime Minister, telling her that tying their discipline's fortunes to international exchange rates is a funny way to make science policy.

Thirty-eight physicists from 17 academic laboratories signed the letter which spells out the consequences of the SERC's problems in meeting its payments of the European Nuclear

Research Centre (CERN) in Geneva. They say that up the best current figures, and on present exchange rates for the Swiss franc, the council faces a shortfall of £2.8m a year.

The letter, drafted by Dr John Mulvey of Oxford University and circulated at a meeting of physicists in Abingdon last weekend, calls for the SERC to be protected from fluctuations in exchange rates. Without this, the scientists say it would be impossible to develop a rational policy for scientific research.

They also point to the harm done to collaboration with foreign researchers when Britain is the sole objector to a proposal to upgrade the CERN machine which featured in the celebrated discovery of the Z and W particles earlier this year. The CERN council will decide on this project in December.



Prince Albert: the cult of a consort, 20

Gordon Bowker on Malcolm Lowry, 17

Ernest Boyer on values and missions, 13

"The MSC are so busy playing the numbers game that very little attention is being paid to the quality of some of the YTS schemes," he said, adding that off-the-job provision should be given by further education colleges.

in a field which promises big advances in global geology and geophysics.

Poly students shine in study

by Patricia Santinelli

The majority of polytechnic students have a greater understanding and make more effective use of what they are taught than their university counterparts, according to research by Lancaster University.

The results of the research, carried out by Mr Paul Ramsden across a wide range of universities and polytechnics as well as subjects, shows that university students are on average more prone to memorize and regurgitate information.

The major reason for this is that polytechnic students tend to perceive their teaching as much better than university students do.

Explaining the reasons in an interview with the *Oxford Times*, Dr C. N. Keen of Oxford Polytechnic said that they were due on one hand to the Council for National Academic Awards and on the other to the existence of educational development units in all but two polytechnics.

He pointed out that polytechnic teaching had dramatically improved as a result of the CNA's monitoring of course design, teaching methods and support services. University external

examiners did not look at these areas to the same extent and there was no external monitoring of the way teaching is undertaken.

Dr Keen added that in the case of educational development units, these were few in universities and when they did exist they were small and isolated. There was no pressure on departments to use them, especially as university lecturers did not have to train in teaching methods.

In addition, universities select academic staff on the basis of their research and subject and very rarely on their teaching ability. The same applied in promotion, whereas the polytechnic's primary criterion for promotion was teaching excellence.

Dr Keen did admit that in those universities which had developed closer links with industry and commerce and recruited professional staff who were not primarily academics, there was now greater interest being given to training for teaching.

"These new staff look at techniques, try them out, and are highly pragmatic about the way they go about their teaching. This is very unlike the traditional approach to university teaching," he said.

Glasgow pleads for maintenance funds

by Olga Wojtas
Scottish Correspondent

Glasgow University has warned the University Grants Committee that funds are urgently needed for maintenance and repair work.

In a submission to the UGC, which is visiting the university today, Glasgow says costs are "beginning to assume alarming proportions" and will exceed this year's allocation of £2,280,000.

The university court has approved a redevelopment plan which will cost over £4m by 1985/86, but the university says this sum "conceals the imminence of two enormous financial commitments", the refurbishing of the main building and chemistry buildings, costing several million pounds.

The main building, dating from 1870, "has undergone several phases of piecemeal refurbishing, but is no longer weatherproof," says the university report.

The heating and fume extraction systems in the chemistry buildings need urgent replacement; at a cost of £2m. Glasgow also says it is faced with

an acute accommodation crisis, with no places for a fifth of first year students eligible for university accommodation.

The university cannot even find places for some first year students who have to begin their journey to Glasgow at 7am. Glasgow has traditionally had a high proportion of home-based students but as a result of entrance difficulties, a larger number of students are coming from more than 30 miles outside the city. "Thus the trend is away from home-based students to those who absolutely need accommodation," says the university.

The university needs at least 400 new residential places, it says. It is considering converting a property into a 120-place student house, at a cost of £500,000.

It has also warned UGC that between 1979 and 1985 its staff/student ratio will have worsened by 17 per cent, and that it will need 43 more academic posts to bring its non-medical staff/student ratios to the national average next session.

Between 1980 and 1984, the university will have lost 88 arts posts, 78 science posts, and 40 clinical posts.

Parkes warns of 'minor attrition'

The universities may suffer repeated minor attrition in the future, rather than a rapid reduction in resources, Sir Edward Parkes, new vice-chancellor of Leeds University said last week.

Sir Edward, former chairman of the University Grants Committee, said in his first speech to the university court:

"I do not think that we shall in the near future suffer again the rapid reduction in resources of the current period, but I do think we may suffer repeated minor attrition."

He said the relations between the university and community will take on even greater importance.

news in brief

APT agrees over merger

The final hurdle to sole recognition of the Association of University Teachers at the New University of Ulster has been lifted with acceptance by the Association of Polytechnic Teachers of arrangements for the transitional period up to September 1985. From that date, all APT members will join the AUT but will be free to remain associate members of the non-TUC union.

AUT, APT and the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education each have four members of a newly-formed AUT committee which will be engaged in negotiations on details of the merger which becomes effective from September next year.

Joint study

Sociologists and computer scientists are to take part in a joint conference to explore the potential of artificial intelligence at a conference at Surrey University in March 1984. Surrey has already introduced a taught unit for sociology graduates on artificial intelligence, and is keen to show how sociologists have long been discussing topics that are now being taken up by computer analysts.

Science post

Mr Harry Nicholls, aged 46, dean of the faculty of management and head of the management centre at Aston University, has been appointed chief executive of the Aston Science Park. He replaces Mr Ian Herman who resigned over a policy disagreement with the board.

Accounted for

The Association of Certified Accountants has funded a year-long £20,000 research into the impact of information technology upon accountants in the coming decade in order to assess the changes which might need to be made to education, training and continuing professional updating.

TV series

More than 2,000 programmes are included in a new series of 14 subject catalogues produced by the BBC for colleges and training organizations. The BBC Enterprises education and training department has some 10,000 customers spread all over the world. Every programme is available on videocassette and 16mm film and can be bought or hired.

Top marks

Mr Ian R. Thomas, a shipping executive with the Milk Marketing Board, has won the Times Supplement prize worth £75 for achieving top marks on the foundation course for overseas students at the College for the Distributive Trades in London.



Mr Arnold Myers, honorary curator of the Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments, demonstrates a 158-year-old copper brass horn, part of a unique musical collection newly acquired by the university. The 200 instruments bought by the university for around £9,000 are part of a collection built up over a century by the Edinburgh bagpipe firm of J. and R. Glen.

Overseas entries up

With a third of all entries in applications from overseas for British university places in 1984 are up by 27 per cent, according to the Universities Central Council on Admissions.

By November 1 there had been 3,490 applications from overseas (2,321 men and 1,169 women) compared with a total of 2,748 the same time the previous year. But UCCA says all trends must be regarded as provisional and this kind of percentage increase may not be maintained throughout the year.

By this November, there had been 60,158 applications from UK candidates, compared with 56,511 last year, an increase of 6.5 per cent. The home and overseas figures together show an increase of 7.4 per cent in applications.

There have been substantial increases in applications in education, pharmacy, civil engineering, electrical engineering, general engineering, computing, business management studies, economics, geography, accountancy, law, combinations of social studies with arts, architecture, and combined general arts.

No subjects have shown a substantial decrease. Those subjects in which there have been little change include medicine, dentistry, mechanical engineering, agriculture and forestry, veterinary studies, biology, biochemistry, mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology, psychology, sociology, combined social studies, English, French, combined languages and history.

Open Tech asks for bids

In its second year the Manpower Services Commission's Open Tech programme is planning to take a greater lead and ask for bids in four key training areas.

It has so far signed contracts for 20 operational and eight support projects for the development of open learning opportunities in response to bids of which 60 per cent will be college-based. A further 17 contracts are in the pipeline which means that half of the Open Tech's £41m budget for the next three years has been allocated.

But instead of simply responding to the Open Tech has singled out priority areas where it would like to see the other £20m spent.

These are: support for technological innovation; educational technology including backing for teleconferencing and interactive video; practical training facilities; and supervisory and management training.

Dr George Tolley, the director, said that the defining of priorities was a natural development and would involve an extra push in areas of training need. He said that special interest projects for the ethnic minorities, disabled, women and the unemployed were a cause of concern since it was proving difficult to decide which projects provided the best delivery. Several projects which would encourage the training of women are being considered.

Contracts are to be signed shortly for training in robotics.

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quality and support to the highest professional standards.

AS a special service to my readers, I offer the following points direct from the small print of the documents published last Thursday, alongside the Chancellor's autumn economic statement. (Incidentally, the Chancellor forgot to highlight these when he told the House about the "winning combination" that his economic policy had now become.)

● Britain will go into the red on its international trade during 1984. The Treasury forecasts a £1.1 billion deficit on the current account for 1984. Imports, especially of manufactured goods, are running so high that the whole of the benefit of North Sea oil - around £9,000m in exports - will be wiped out. It could be even worse. On this year's track record, it almost certainly will be. A £1.5 billion surplus, forecast for 1983 only eight months ago. In the March Budget, is now the Treasury admits, going to be no more than £1.5 billion "recovery" of which the Chancellor spoke so eloquently, will gather pace at such a rate that, with a lot of luck, it is doubtful whether manufacturing

PARTY LINE

The bad news hidden in the small print

output will be up by the end of 1984 to the level that was last achieved in May 1968. The degree to which this Government has destroyed manufacturing capacity is so breathtaking as almost to be unbelievable. Let me underline this point. The index of manufacturing production in the Chancellor forecasts, due to rise to 98 by the second half of 1984. Before this recession started, it was last at this point in mid 1968. In other words, the equivalent of about 15 years worth of investment in manufacturing will have been 'wiped out' under this Government. With the rate of recovery which the Chancellor is predicting - better, he claims, than any of our European competitors - we shall not get back to this level of

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they were under Labour. But there is nothing for us to gloat about. It is sometimes said that the only good news for opposition is bad news, and that all oppositions have a vested interest in a country's economic failure. It is not true. What is more, I believe that relative economic success could actually increase Labour's electoral chances, since it would remove the psychological climate of fear and despair, on which Thatcherism has been founded. It has always been rising expectations, not depression, from which Labour in the past has profited. But because of the small print, because of what the Chancellor did not tell us, my personal fear is that this latest set of economic measures will have no greater chance of success than those of the last four years, and that the dreary, self-defeating round of cut and cut again will be here next year, and the year after, and the year after that.

Jack Straw

The author is Labour MP for Blackburn.

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ILEA issues ultimatum

The Inner London Education Authority has presented the London and Home Counties Regional Advisory Council with an ultimatum: give us more seats, or we cut our budget contribution by over 80 per cent.

At present, the ILEA pays about £50,000 of the RAC's annual £260,000 budget, about 20 per cent of the total. The next largest contributor is Kent, which pays about £28,000 12 per cent of the total.

But in a reorganization plan by the RAC to update itself for participation in the work of the National Advisory Body, both authorities would only have one seat on the newly-constituted 27-seat council, giving them the same voting power as the small outer London boroughs and home counties providing little advanced further education.

So at the last RAC meeting, when the new constitution was due to be agreed, ILEA further and higher education subcommittee chairman Neil Fletcher told the council that if the ILEA was only to have one seat, it would only pay 1/20th of the council's budget.

Mr Fletcher described the plan as it stood as "outrageous", and said that the ILEA's action in blocking the new RAC constitution was backed by Tory members of the RAC would never be able to make up the ILEA and Kent contributions, because some of their own authorities were reluctant to contribute to the RAC already, he said.

ILEA payments would be adjusted to 1/20th of the total as soon as a meeting took place under the new constitution. The regional advisory councils this week published their annual compendium of advanced courses in colleges of further and higher education. Almost 50 pages of courses planned for 1984/85 are listed in the book, which is available for £2.50 from the London and Home Counties RAC, Tavistock House South, Tavistock Square, London WC1H 9LR.

Criticism over tenure 'lapse'

by David Jobbins

An embarrassing chink in the defence of academic tenure mounted by the Association of University Teachers is to be subject to a searching post-mortem at the union's half-yearly council next month.

Earlier this summer the local AUT accepted a proposal from Reading University that future recruits should agree to the possibility of redundancy in case of "financial exigency".

Nationally, the AUT was unenthusiastic but was unable to override the autonomy of the local executive which favoured accepting weakened tenure for future staff.

Although tenure has been displaced from the front line of the AUT's battle against the cuts in recognition of Government proposals for an increase in student numbers, implicit criticism of Reading's action is contained in a

motion from Glasgow AUT, incidentally the home base of national joint vice-president Dr Ron Emmannuel.

Its uncompromising terms are as follows: "Council is totally opposed to any attempts by universities to weaken the tenure position of present or future staff. In particular it recognizes that the introduction of any so called financial exigency clause into the contracts of academic and related staff would leave the whole concept of tenure much weakened."

Although Reading's lapse has lost its significance in the battle against the cuts there is still anxiety among union leaders that it undermines the ability of local associations to depart fundamentally from nationally-agreed policies.

A motion from the executive reaffirms AUT resolve to defend tenure, calls for a reversal of the policy of the Committee of Vice Chancellors and

Principals, and denounces proposals of certain university employers to weaken tenure for future staff as "disgraceful".

Increasing use of fixed term contracts is to be attacked by the executive and a large number of local associations are concerned at the tenure implications and the exploitation of university employees who are expected to sign away important legal protection against unfair dismissal and rights to redundancy pay.

But principal issues will be the University Grants Committee letter with its 28 questions and the shape of the 1984 pay claim.

Concern at the Government pressure on universities to admit extra students without a corresponding increase in funds and anxieties about the application of privatization proposals to education will also occupy the council.



Why equality should begin at the DES

"Girls are entitled to expect better from the education system. At all stages of the education process girls fail to reach their potential... So says Sir Keith Joseph in last week's *Times* report of his first major speech on the education of women. The Secretary of State is right to highlight a problem that his own department is doing its best to camouflage.

Women are under-represented as students as a proportion of the 18-year-old age group. Only 7 per cent of engineering and technology students are women, yet this is an area where the Government wants to see rapid expansion. Only 21 per cent of those taking first degrees in science are female. Sixty-eight per cent of students in education and language and literature are girls.

Much first class potential is science's loss and the arts' gain. If there were to be an increase in the number of women applicants it should enable science to catch up. Every lecturer knows that the numbers of women applying for higher education is increasing and that the trend is likely to continue.

Forty-nine per cent of the 18-year-old population are girls. There is every reason to believe that the number of girls wanting to go on to higher education, or specifically to university should reach at least 49 per cent level, probably by the early 1990s. There is nothing revolutionary in this suggestion. Our industrial competitors have already seen the light. Britain lags behind most other western countries when it comes to encouraging women students. In France and the USA, 50 per cent of the student population is female.

All is not gloom and doom. Of university graduates in 1970, 30.6 per cent were women. In 1982 that had increased to 41.3 per cent. The trend is gradual but persistent. As long as the places are provided there seems no doubt that girls will respond and will continue to increase their participation rate. But the DES has no intention of providing the places.

If the DES have their way, any increase in the number of women students will be at the expense of places for men because they are planning a systematic reduction in the total number of places into the 1990s. They base their predictions on a mechanistic calculation based on a fall in the 18-year-old population. Although the overall number of 18-year-olds will indeed decline, the DES have failed to recognize that the participation rate of women continues to increase at its current pace to reach the male rate of entry to higher education, then their absolute numbers seem likely to increase by at least a half again.

Sir Keith has expressed his concern at the unjustifiable disparity in girls' participation rates in higher education. It is imperative that he gets that message across to his own department.

Next year is "Women in Science and Engineering Year". The Engineering Council and the Equal Opportunities Commission will be encouraging schools to persuade more girls to take science subjects. Perhaps an increasing proportion can be encouraged to return to work and work in the higher education field. There is nothing like seeing others follow the same path. It is the Secretary of State's responsibility to ensure that the opportunities exist for them to follow that path.

Diana Warwick

The author is General Secretary of the Association of University Teachers.

Breaking the mould of science as a boys' toy

by Jon Turney
Science Correspondent

Dirt, noise, strikes and unemployment — all parts of the image evoked by mechanical engineering, according to Mr Alex McKay, secretary of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers. Mr McKay was bemoaning the negative image of his discipline last week, arguing in the institution's journal that it helps explain why less than 1 per cent of his 77,000 members are women.

However, a meeting last week to plan Women into Science and Engineering Year (WISE), to be promoted in 1984 by the Equal Opportunities Commission and the Engineering Council, suggested that the poor image may be as much of a help as a hindrance to encouraging female recruitment.

Skill bottlenecks may achieve action where exhortations to support female equality fall on deaf ears. As Sir Geoffrey Allen, chairman of the WISE meeting at the Institution of Civil Engineers put it, "the shortage of good trained people is forcing companies to recruit women".

But adapting the education system to supply these new industrial recruits will raise controversy. Several speakers spoke in favour of courses which practised positive discrimination in favour of women, for example — while Professor Daphne Jackson of Surrey University reported a "clear message" from the Engineering Professors' Conference that they were against it.

There were sharp exchanges between mostly male speakers who tended to see any women engineering students or staff as signal achievements and mostly female contributors who pointed out the pressing need to make women engineering students a normal part of the university scene. Professor Jackson commented: "I suspect that the women have been so far from having been exceptional because they have had to fight their way on to courses".

Another controversial issue in 1984 will be the image, and practice of engineering — of all kinds. Lady Platt, the new chairman of the Equal Opportunities Commission and herself an aeronautical engineer, stressed that "science and technology are not boys' toys", and that engineers had to deal with people as often as machine tools. Helen Ryding, lecturer in civil engineering at Aston University, suggested that women might not fit readily into established male views of what engineering was about.



Lady Platt engineers have to deal with people as well.

More than one in three undergraduates accepted by Cambridge University last month were pre-A level candidates assessed either by the special entrance examination or given conditional offers which they achieved.

Figures just released by Cambridge show that the number of students entering the university this year via pre-A level offers went up on last year from 16.6 to 18.8 per cent, and those entering via the pre-A level special examination went up on last year from 27.2 to 27.8 per cent.

Overall, the number of successful candidates from the maintained sector rose slightly from 46 per cent last year to 47 per cent this year, but this is still well below the university average for state entrants which is near 70 per cent. At Oxford 49.7 per cent of the intake came from state schools this year.

The figures come just as Cambridge dons are considering their reaction to the decision by Oxford colleges to drop entry via a post-A level seventh term special examination. Cambridge will not want to be left out on a limb, although many dons do see great merit in the seventh term examination.

Mr Roger Ellis, chairman of the Headmasters' Conference of public schools, and headmaster of Marlborough College, said in a letter to *The Times* the reform appears "topsy-turvy", likely to favour the early academic developers, and forcing early specialization.

The headmaster of Shrewsbury School, Mr S. B. J. Langdale, said it might be fairer to abolish the examination altogether, and wanted about the likely interference with A level preparations caused by sitting a fourth term examination.

The strongest criticism however came in a letter from Professor Hugh Lloyd-Jones, physics professor at Oriel at Oxford, who claimed the reform was brought in to assuage the guilt of members because entry has been easier for some than for others.

"The new scheme is the work of honourable men and women legislating for the world not as it is but as they would wish it to be, and eager to escape the guilty feeling of belonging to an elitist institutions," he said.

Cambridge dons are divided on the issue, some seeing great merit in the seventh term examination, others worried about being left out on a limb after Oxford's decision, aware of the increasing number of pre-A level entrants to Cambridge.

Principal slams UGC

Dr Adam Neville, principal of Dundee University, has criticized the University Grants Committee for imposing student intake figures.

In his annual report, which will be submitted to the graduates' council tomorrow, Dr Neville says university departments traditionally admitted the number of students they deemed appropriate. "I firmly believe that the UGC is interfering with the freedom of universities to decide their own size and shape."

"Our course and our senate are fully aware of the state of our finances and of our academic standards and we are not in any way over-extended."

Dundee feels particularly bitter about the UGC's structure on intake since last year it was fined £60,000 for overshooting its target, but has now been asked to take in more local and technological students. It had been steadily reducing its intake from 842 in 1980 to 730 in 1982, but was not seen by the UGC "to be moving towards the target in a lively enough manner."

This year's intake, Dr Neville points out, has been cut to 600, despite a record number of 10,350 applications. "We are not over-extended but Dundee is still in a bind."

overseas news

El Salvador rector's struggle

by David Jobbins

The final stage of the Government-inspired campaign of repression against the National University of El Salvador is at hand, its rector, Dr Miguel Parada, fears. In the past two months, four lecturers have been killed by right-wing death squads while a further three have been kidnapped.

And two weeks ago a university employee died after falling from a third floor window when soldiers stormed the economics faculty administrative building. They claimed that a prinlog press intended for teaching materials was instead producing anti-government propaganda and that the building was a guerrilla communications centre.

Both charges are emphatically denied by Dr Parada, in London to raise support for the university, which was last occupied by the

armed forces in June 1980.

Since then the campus has been in military hands with the authorities dragging their feet over implementing a decree earlier this year that it should be returned to the university authorities.

Another ominous sign is the appearance of anonymous advertisements in the newspapers listing university staff and students as members of "terrorist organizations." Dr Parada says: "We are told these paid advertisements arrive in the newspaper offices bearing the stamp of the army press office and with a note saying they are to be published. This is a threat to the safety of all university staff."

He sees no grounds for United States official optimism that the human rights climate of the country is improving. In the past two months some 150 people have died at the

hands of the death squads and in similar circumstances most people would be keeping a low profile or fearing for their safety.

Not Dr Parada. Despite the personal risks — his predecessor, Dr Felix Ullon, was assassinated in 1980 — he takes every opportunity to drive home the case for a return to normality. And his concerns are familiar — academic standards and university finance.

A particular worry is the proliferation of private universities. Before June 1980 there were four private universities; after the military occupation a further 26 were formed before the Government called a halt, although another 30 applications are pending.

A number operate on a shoestring, others are close to bankruptcy, and Dr Parada fears for academic standards. "It is complete madness: El Salvador is becoming the only country in the world to have a university for every inhabitant!"

Finance is another problem. The Government has only paid the salaries of the lecturing staff since the occupation. There are desperate shortages of books, teaching materials and other equipment. Students contribute four dollars a month to their own teaching costs, but grants for poorer students are non-existent.

Even so some 7,000 students are now being taught in rented accommodation throughout the city, and in February the university is to admit its



Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock is awarded an honorary degree by Dr Parada during his visit to London.

first new students since the occupation.

The scale of the problem is illustrated by the shortage of chairs. Many students now bring their own, carrying them from class to class before taking them home at the end of the day.

"The reason for the repression is that the armed forces believe the university is responsible for the civil conflict. It is a public denunciation of the university that it is a centre of

subversion and a home for guerrillas."

Why keep up the struggle in the face of so many adversities? "I have often asked myself that question. We feel more or less worn out by our struggle. We have nothing to defend ourselves with and the security forces do not protect us. But we believe it is an important example to the people of El Salvador that we should not be defeated by the Government, are not seen to give up in the face of this repression."

Frightened Tamils refuse to return

from D. B. Udalgama

COLOMBO Tamil undergraduates of the university south of Sri Lanka, who took refuge in the north during the riots of July and August, have declined to return to their universities next term. The Ministry of Higher Education has said that they should return.

The undergraduates, who have formed themselves into the Displaced Tamil Undergraduates Union, are afraid for their safety and have asked to be transferred to Jaffna or Batticaloa.

They have cited precedents for such course of action. In 1977 Sinhalese students in Jaffna asked for, and obtained, transfers to the southern universities. And more recently, Sinhalese undergraduates at the University of Madras have been accommodated in Colombo.

The number of "displaced" Tamil undergraduates is put at around 2,000 and the University Grants Commis-

sion has pointed out that some of them are taking courses not available in Jaffna. There is no engineering faculty in Jaffna, for example, and funding and staffing constraints make it possible to set up a new faculty. There are not enough facilities in Jaffna for everybody who wants to go there.

The ministry has also said that Sinhalese students must return to the University College at Batticaloa which the Tamils regard as within their "homelands". It also says that, wherever possible, it has agreed to mutual transfer students could arrange between Jaffna and the southern universities but the other students must get back to their former universities by January.

Some 2,000 Tamil teachers who left schools in the south last July and August have not yet returned. They have asked to be appointed to schools in the north and the education ministry has been trying to place them where there are suitable vacancies.

British Columbia strike ends

More than 80,000 striking government employees, teachers and education workers returned to work last week after the British Columbia government and its 40,000 member employees' union agreed to a new contract. The seniority guarantees and modest wage increases won by the government workers will likely serve as a model for settlements with other public employees.

The eleventh hour agreement prevented a further escalation of the public sector strikes that have crippled provincial government services since the beginning of the month. Had there been no settlement, another 20,000 public employees were set to join the

walkout, and a full scale general strike was possible before the end of the month.

As part of a settlement, premier William Bennett agreed to "meaningful consultations" on some of the more contentious of his restraint measures.

The strike had little effect on the province's colleges and universities. Although some faculties and all support staff walked out on November 8, the November 11 Remembrance Day holiday meant that the minor disruptions caused by the strikes lasted only three days. Most public schools in the province were closed for those three days.

US medical students 'wanted to stay' in Grenada

The American students evacuated from St George's Medical School in Grenada did not wish to leave the island, according to a Bulgarian neurologist Dr Nedjalka Kostova Corvalan. Dr Corvalan and her husband, an expert in shock-broodlog, had been working in Grenada since 1981. They returned to Bulgaria on November 9.

Dr Corvalan's statement, which was released in English by Bulgarians radio, claimed that she had close contacts with many of the American students, since they came for clinical practice to the St George's Hospital where she worked. She has no opportunity, she said, to talk to them after the coup, which overthrew the prime minister Maurice Bishop.

They had not affected them in any way and that they wanted to stay on to continue their studies. Two days before the American intervention the students had maintained that their lives were not in danger, she said.

Dr Corvalan's broadcast condemned the US forces as "barbarians" the standard attitude of the Comecon media to the intervention.

The St George's Medical School is one of a number of "offshore" refuges for would-be medical students who have failed to gain admission to medical schools within the United States. As

such, it was investigated by the United States Congress's General Accounting Office in 1980, which criticized the inadequacy of its clinical training programme.

It is difficult to see how in the relatively short time allotted to the students for clinical practice in the hospital, they could have developed the close relationship with Dr Corvalan which she alleges.

'Blackleg' academics suspended

from John Walshe

DUBLIN

Three academics who acted as library guards during a strike at Trinity College, Dublin, have been suspended from their union, the Irish Federation of University Teachers.

The three-month suspensions do not interfere with their teaching duties or academic careers. But they have received an issue which at the time caused deep divisions in the academic community.

The strike last February and March involved porters, security and maintenance staff and cleaners. Many academics did duties they would not

normally undertake such as cleaning lavatories and delivering mail. A few, however, were so strongly supportive of the strikers that they refused to enter the campus and instead held their lectures in local hostels and halls. After it was over, the strikers complained to the federation which began investigating claims of strike-breaking by academics.

Eventually the executive of the federation decided to suspend three of them, including the prominent economics professor, Dr Dermot McAleese. But the three claimed that the executive had shown an insensitivity to the motivation of all the college staff who want to keep Trinity open during a

difficult period.

They have issued a statement saying that because they put their professional duties as academics first, their membership of a federation of university teachers has been suspended. "The IFUT executive evidently places the doctrinaire pursuit of good trade union practice before the welfare of our students, the advancement of higher education and research and the protection of academic freedom," they claimed.

A move by members of the Trinity branch of the federation to condemn the executive decision was unsuccessful and the suspensions have gone ahead.

Lecturers narrowly avoid deportation from Birzeit

Twenty lecturers — including two British — at the Birzeit University in the West Bank narrowly avoided deportation by the Israeli authorities when an eleven-hour compromise was reached week.

The compromise came when the Israeli authorities agreed to drop a paragraph in the lecturers' work permit applications which was seen as politically motivated and a restriction on their academic freedom. They had refused to sign.

It marks the end of a year-long controversy over work permits for foreign lecturers in the West Bank. Last year the Israeli military authorities expelled dozens of foreign lecturers, including many Western Europeans, when they refused to sign new work permit forms.

The offending paragraph read: "I am fully committed against including in any act and offering any assistance to the organization called the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) or any other terrorist organization that is

considered to be hostile to the state of Israel."

The forms provoked widespread criticism, and were eventually withdrawn and some of the expelled academics were allowed to return to the West Bank. But in recent months the forms were revived by the authorities.

The 20 lecturers were given a week to sign or face deportation, and Dr Gibr Barnimki the vice-president of Birzeit University, near Ramallah, was also reported to be facing charges of organising and inciting a conspiracy to "commit fraud and forgery."

The compromise now requires lecturers to sign a statement saying they have read and understood the "security regulations", now given to lecturers on a separate sheet. It applies to lecturers at the Catholic University of Bethlehem, Al-Najlat University, Nablus, as well as Birzeit.

A statement issued by Birzeit said all elements of the university approved the new forms.

Bonn rejects student fees plan

from Barbara von Ow

MUNICH

Putting an end to speculation surrounding its controversial new student grant regulation, the Bonn government has firmly rejected the idea of introducing student fees at West German universities. In a recent report on the federal law on education assistance (*Bildungsgesetz*), it says that assistance for individual students should not be financed by all students having to pay fees.

The report was commissioned by the Bundestag last December, following the revision of the *Bildungsgesetz* regulations which converted grants for poorer students into fully repayable loans. The new law is vehemently opposed by the Social Democratic and Green opposition parties who have pledged to restore the old grant system.

However, there was no reason why students who did not receive government loans should pay fees so that those who did get loans would not have to pay them back, the report noted. This is considered to be all the more unjustified as many of the students who receive no official support often finance their studies with considerable difficulty.

According to the report, the Bonn and Länder governments paid DM2bn for student assistance last year of which 33.5 per cent was given in the form of loans. (In 1972 it was DM1bn of which 25 per cent were loans.) Next year DM2bn would be allocated, virtually all as loans.

overseas news

Nuclear vote losers claim moral victory

from E. Patrick McQuaid

WASHINGTON Bull sides in the campaign to ban nuclear weapons research in Cambridge, Massachusetts are claiming victory. But after a referendum that saw the measure shot down by 5,654 votes, advocates for a nuclear-free Cambridge — can claim only a moral victory. They are also claiming that the referendum was a "moral victory" for the city.

The referendum on November 8 to outlaw the "research, development, testing, evaluation, production, maintenance, storage, transportation, and disposal" of atomic weapons and related components within the city limits of Cambridge saw one of the most fierce confrontations in local and national politics within a century.

The stakes were high with more than \$100m in Department of Defense contracts at one private laboratory alone in jeopardy, the Citizens Against Research Arms spent an estimated \$125,000 in television advertising and a slick house-to-house printed campaign.

The local peace partisans, Mobilization for Survival, generated and spent \$23,000. They say that the bulk of their financial support came from Cambridge contributors while funds used by the citizens group came largely from donors outside the city limits.

A member of the Citizens Association said: "What was really important is that we got people talking about the issue. We raised and spent a lot, but we certainly did not buy people's votes."

People talking about the issue is what nuclear-free advocates cite as a positive step. They say they'll reintroduce the referendum in two years. Mobilization expected, with good

cause, that the initiative would cruise through the electorate, based on a non-binding referendum in 1981 in which 74 per cent of the city voted in favour of banning such research. But the opposition ran a hard crusade, employing such terms as "catastrophic" and "harassment" and charging that scientists would be thrown in jail. The referendum, they said, would put "a gun in their heads" and called it an "inquisition."

Mobilization headquarters was a turn-of-the-century office building in a run-down quarter of the city, once, ironically a bomb shelter. Citizens maintained a glass-fronted, high-tech office building a little closer to Harvard Square and had the moral support of both Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Neither Institute were on both sides of the conflict.

A week before the vote, MIT president Paul Gray sent letters to the MIT community and employees informing them of the institute's position, calling it "unwise and constitutionally defective." Mr Gray expressed sympathy with Mobilization and its supporters, but added that he and the MIT corporation felt strongly that the proposed law "is not the way to pursue the goal of a world that will be free from the risk of nuclear war."

At Harvard University president Derek Bok expressed sentiments overtly similar to his counterpart at MIT. While citizens reportedly spent \$125,000, the group reportedly received over \$400,000 in contributions. The final vote count was 17,331 against the referendum (59.7 per cent) and 11,677 in favour (representing 40.3 per cent).

In Ohio citizens rejected a referendum that would have substantially reduced their personal income taxes at the expense of public higher education.

Staff call for chief to quit

from Carolyn Dempster

JOHANNESBURG

Virtually the entire staff of the University of Zululand have called for the resignation of Chief Gashu Buthelezi as chancellor, following the death of four students on campus two weeks ago in a clash with armed supporters of Inkatha.

Chief Buthelezi is president of the black political movement Inkatha as well as chief minister of the KwaZulu homeland and was due to speak on

campus the morning Inkatha supporters attacked students.

In a meeting the week after the violence, 120 staff members voted to oust Chief Buthelezi as chancellor whereas only 20 lecturers voted against the proposal.

Speaking in the KwaZulu legislative assembly, Chief Buthelezi hit out at his critics, implying that they were "scum" or "chattering 'leftist' things" on campus. As he was speaking in parliament he is protected in terms of South Africa's libel laws.

Sartre 'an evil influence on Chinese'

from Jane Marshall

PEKING

Chinese university students who admire Jean-Paul Sartre are one of the targets of an official campaign against what the authorities term "spiritual pollution" and "cultural contamination". By this they mean liberal tendencies, almost invariably due to foreign influences, in art, literature and ideology, and deviation to the right of the ideological line of the ruling communist party.

The campaign, while milder than those launched by chairman Mao Tse-tung in the 1950s and during the 10 year cultural revolution, is the most severe since the more moderate and pragmatic Deng Xiaoping took control of China in 1978. It has been marked by attacks on liberal Chinese writers, the banning of several literary journals and a crackdown on what the authorities describe as "obscene, barbarous or reactionary things and vulgar taste."

Foreign influences are blamed for propagating in China such evils as capitalist ideas, pornography and "wild music", in a virulent attack on western views of society, the official party newspaper, *The People's Daily*, has called for the rejection of theories which it said spread alienation from socialism and promoted human values and freedom of the individual.



Sartre: wiser than Marx?

In this vein, the Peking-based *Guangming Daily*, a newspaper aimed at intellectuals, has denounced the French existentialist philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre.

It said his ideas, although "politically progressive", were "materially idealistic" and acclaimed "a kind of extreme individualism and unreasoned freedom". They had spread among many, especially young, Chinese who were "unable to distinguish between good and bad, and

between the useful and the harmful." In some universities, some students scramble for Sartre's books and this has yielded evil influences. Some university students laud Sartre to the skies, saying that his theories have filled in the gaps of Marxism and that Sartre is wiser than Marx.

The *Guangming Daily* blamed the rot on the introduction of "bourgeois theories" from abroad and foreign literature "permeated with decayed bourgeois ideas," without compensating Marxist analysis and criticism to show up their damaging influences.

The anti-liberalization campaign began shortly after the Communist Party Central committee announced the launching of a "rectification" drive to cleanse the party of corruption and extremism, apparently aimed mainly at those conservatives on the left who still upheld Maoist policies.

Now it appears that the liberal "rightists" are in at least as much trouble as the conservative "leftists", and the hardening of the anti-right attitude is silencing writers and intellectuals who are generally supporters of Deng Xiaoping. Deng is nevertheless said to have personally encouraged the campaign; although — while no libertarian himself — it was his "open-door" economic and trade policies which let in the malignant foreign influences in the first place.

Scots help Makerere

by Felicity Jones

Makerere University in Uganda is to develop its continuing education centre and outreach work with the support of the University of Glasgow's department of adult and continuing education.

The Arian regime and the civil war led to a complete breakdown in educational development. The centre's purpose-built headquarters were not properly completed when the sponsors withdrew and some of seven field centres were affected by the war.

The new plan of action includes a target to fill academic and administrative vacancies in two years, to strengthen the field work and to provide existing staff with professional updating to overcome the years of isolation and institutional decay.

Glasgow University will be playing a central role in training recruits and the first Makerere staff member has already arrived in Scotland to study for a master's degree in adult education.

Singapore divided by nature v. nurture debate

from Mary Price

SINGAPORE

A sudden decision to reverse policy at the National University of Singapore and abandon the requirement of two languages as an entry condition to undergraduate courses, has caused disquiet among academics on the island.

The policy has been strictly enforced since 1981, with students needing to offer English (the medium of instruction in the university) and one of three other languages widely used in Singapore — Malay, Chinese and Tamil.

However, on October 29, the university vice-chancellor, Professor Lim Pin, announced that it was going to admit a second batch of several hundred undergraduates in November directly into the second, and final, term of the current academic year.

These students would not have to satisfy the second language requirement before entry but would have to pass special language tests before being permitted to graduate.

The announcement has caused considerable comment within the university as well as outside. Many of the academic staff were informed only in the week preceding the announcement and are highly critical.

The main internal and external debate about the sudden change in policy hinges on the largely unstated but well known reasons for the change. They have more to do with what has been called the "great marriage debate" than with any academic considerations.

On August 9 the prime minister, Lee Kuan Yew, in his National Day speech expressed his concern that:

...educated Singaporean couples were restricting themselves to only one child, or choosing to have none;

...a large number of female graduates were not marrying at all;

...this overall pattern was affecting the genetic pool of intelligence in Singapore.

As a result it has been decided that the university should admit more men by removing the second language requirement, which female candidates find easier to supply.

\$750,000 matching grant from the Andrew Mellon Foundation.

The funds will be used to bring senior and junior lecturers to Cambridge who are authorities in such fields as economics or sociology. They will undergo training at Harvard to transfer their skills into Soviet scholarship.

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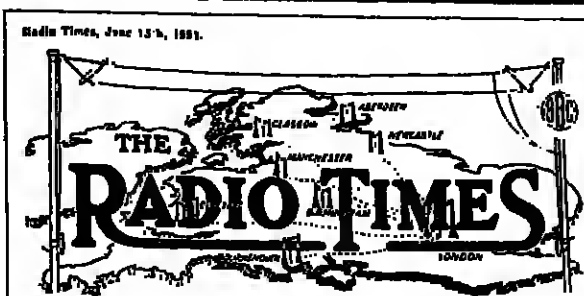
The director of the Soviet Institute project, a joint five-year initiative of American and Israeli universities, describes the undertaking as the most thorough examination yet of Russian society, political, economic and administrative practices. The Soviets describe it as espionage and bad spying at that.

The official Communist Party organ, *Pravda*, accused scholars of the project, who hail from Chicago, Houston, Michigan, Illinois, New York, and Israel's Haifa University among others of collaborating with "cloak and dagger operatives" from their respective governments.

While the study was developed by the National Council for Soviet and East European Studies, formed in 1978 by the presidents of 12 American universities, it is also receiving financial support from the US departments of defence and state, as well as the Central Intelligence Agency.

The university of the video?

Felicity Jones traces the history of the OU from the initial idea to today's reality



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OFFICIAL PROGRAMMES

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING COMPANY.

By the Week Commencing

SUNDAY, 1.11.83

MONDAY, 2.11.83

TUESDAY, 3.11.83

WEDNESDAY, 4.11.83

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Ernest Boyer



Modern moral dilemma of survival, not service

The philosopher, Karl Jaspers, defined the goal of education as the pursuit of culture. Culture was, he said, "a given historical ideal (and) ... a coherent system of associations, gestures, values, ways of putting things, and abilities."

American colleges and universities, faced with budget cutbacks and staff retrenchment, are increasingly uncertain about higher education's obligations to society. A generation after Jaspers' words, there is no consensus as to what the culture's values are or how they should be integrated into a curriculum, if at all. Today, the watchword on many campuses is not service but survival.

There was a time when educators were clear about the larger purposes of education. From America's beginnings through the nineteenth century, "moral philosophy" courses were as accepted as reading, writing and arithmetic. Colleges on this continent were certain in their belief that the society's moral, cultural and political values should be transmitted to the next generation through the classroom. Even when the influence of the church declined, the conviction that the college represented a bastion of moral order was sustained.

But through the social upheaval of the 1920s and the increasing cultural diversity, confidence in the moral mission of education disappeared. Science was replacing faith with facts; long held truths were questioned.

Still there is a growing debate about the relationship between higher learning and larger social ends. The belief persists, that the process most capable of reaching implications, the intellectual centre together, preventing it from disintegrating into unconnected splinters, is education. The vision may be blurred but the conviction that the college should bring together the views and experiences of all its parts to create something greater than its sum is beginning to be rekindled. Father Theodore Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame, eloquently affirmed at the annual meeting of the American Council on Education that the nation's colleges must be both an intellectual and a moral force in society.

This renewed emphasis on the mission of the university is being pushed, at least in part, to overcome fragmentation on campus. Increasingly, universities are being splintered into self-interested factions. Robert Hutchins once described the modern university as a series of separate departments held together by a central heating system. Clark Kerr characterized it as an assemblage of faculty entrepreneurs held together by a common grievance over parking.

There is also an increasing trend towards corporate-sponsored education in the United States. Business and industry now offer courses ranging from basic skills instruction to post-doctoral seminars in science and mathematics. Impressive "corporate campuses" are cropping up across the country. And on another front, television and home computers can now present students with a blur of information.

All of this encourages specialization without an understanding of connections. The crucial question being debated here is whether America's colleges and universities will offer something more than the available to students in the corporate classroom or on video cassette. If so, how will it be defined? Non-traditional teachers do have an important role to play. Technology and corporate training can provide information to all ages, all governments, all cultures, all nations.

Higher education in the United States has never been static. For more than 350 years, it has shaped its programme in response to the changing social context. Some now argue that the time has come for American higher learning again to clarify its goals, reaffirming that at the heart of the academic enterprise there is something more than the heating system or common grievance over parking.

times and in innovative ways. But these strategies should not be viewed as a replacement for the kind of wisdom and understanding that results when students and teachers come together to gather data, test ideas, reflect upon deeper meanings and weigh alternative conclusions. Through such encounters, information can be placed in larger context and the relationship of knowledge to life's dilemmas can be thoughtfully explored. These remain the special capacities of the classroom and the campus.

Today many worry that if American colleges and universities simply imitate their rivals they will find themselves in a contest they cannot win. At a time when society's values are shaped and revised by the fashion of the marketplace, higher education's influence must grow outward from a core of integrity and confidence firmly rooted in humane goals that are currently lacking in most other institutions.

Survival without a sense of mission is hardly preferable to extinction; indeed, it may be the forerunner of extinction. The ultimate loss would be a society that can no longer count on the cement that keeps it from falling apart, with people scattered into 1,000 unconnected cells, trained but not educated, sure of individual desires and interests, but ignorant of shared purposes and ideals.

Education, by its very nature, is value-laden. Any institution committed to inquiry into the human experience must inevitably confront questions of purpose and meaning. The refusal to face these issues openly and directly is, itself, a moral decision with far-reaching implications.

The hope remains that institutions of higher learning will retain a social mission that goes beyond their own self-interest and the immediate goals of students. Can the academy perform an integrative function? Will scholars help students? Can the academy perform an integrative function? Will scholars help students seek appropriate responses to life's most enduring questions? Will they themselves not just wish information and knowledge, but with wisdom?

This is not to suggest a programme of indoctrination in place of investigation. The search for larger meaning should be based not on the repression of ideas but on open questioning. Indeed, the growth of censorship should be viewed with grave concern. To counter such narrow and reactionary thinking, universities should not push for particular conclusions; rather they should create a climate in which the values of the individual and the ethical and moral choices confronting society can be thoughtfully examined.

These are not easy goals to achieve in a pluralistic society — and success is difficult to measure. Still, if students are to use knowledge wisely, more is needed than the plodding students in course catalogues. What is needed is more emphasis on general education, a carefully crafted programme for all students that rests early specialization and focuses on those experiences that integrate individuals into a community.

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Looking behind the curtain

Soviet studies in the United States faces a series of obstacles. E. Patrick McQuaid reports

ers' series, and invited scholars, journalists and diplomats such as former secretary of state Dean Rusk and former CIA administrator national security consultant Zbigniew Brzezinski.

The Rockefeller Foundation has awarded \$1m to the Stanford University and the University of California at Berkeley for a joint project on Soviet international behaviour. A similar award has been made to Columbia University's Sovietology programme.

There are several reasons for the new interest here in Soviet scholarship, among them the Afghanistan-American intervention in Latin America and the Middle East is focusing attention on the eastern bloc and its allies worldwide.

There is also a surge of interest in the Kennedy administration. This month, in addition to marking US-Soviet relations, is also the 21st anniversary of a near-nuclear confrontation between President Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev and the 20th anniversary of JFK's assassination. "Seldom in this century has our country's need for experts in Soviet and East European affairs been more pronounced," said Mr. Adam Ulam, director of Harvard University's Russian Research Centre.

"The problem of strategic and conventional arms control, the invasion of Afghanistan, the continuing economic troubles, the rise in the death of Leonid Brezhnev and the rapid ascension of Yuri Andropov have served to highlight the importance of having trained diplomats and scholars in the field."

In 1968 some 607 American colleges and universities offered courses in Russian language. To about 41,000 students. By the autumn term of 1980, only 472 institutions were still providing them and enrolments had dropped to 24,000. During the past decade there has been an average of six graduate dissertations per year in the States written on Soviet foreign policy. In 1980 about 100 dissertations were awarded in Soviet studies, mainly in literature and history, according to the centre's figures.

Mr. Arthur Hartman, the US ambassador to Moscow, estimates that the Soviets produce more than 7,000 American and Canadian specialists each year.

Right now, the most irritating obstacle for Soviet scholars is the Reagan government, which has one hand on the tiller and the other on the sword, but recently turned its back on proposals to create a "super-fund" for eastern bloc research.

After the Korean airliner was shot down by Reagan, cancelled discussion of all US-Soviet academic exchanges. Several items were scheduled for the Congress to be considered in September, among them the proposed Soviet-East European training act of 1983, which would set aside a \$50m endowment.

It is not a cooperative exchange programme with the Russians. It is designed to generate best interests of the government. Soviet studies are indeed at a crossroads. A new effort to raise \$25m for a programme in Russian research centre this month received a

\$750,000 matching grant from the Andrew Mellon Foundation.

The funds will be used to bring senior and junior lecturers to Cambridge who are authorities in such fields as economics or sociology. They will undergo training at Harvard to transfer their skills into Soviet scholarship.

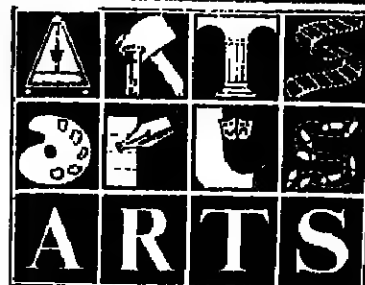
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Friday, December 2



Reasons to celebrate

Last night *Master Harold and the Boys*, the latest play by South African playwright Athol Fugard, opened at the National's Cottesloe Theatre. Fugard usually directs his plays in their first productions, to ensure "a clean statement" of a new work, so he came to London three weeks ago to rehearse the original South African cast of the play for the London opening.

Fugard is a small, wiry figure, bearded and weather-beaten. At 52 he seems to think of himself as much older, as he talks about doing less acting, and conserving "what little energy he's got left". Having already directed successful productions of *Master Harold* in America and South Africa he was confident that the play would not disappoint British audiences, who are, he says, usually responsive to his work as they are well informed about South Africa. "But let's face it, England has had a lot to do with, and has a lot of responsibility for, what has happened there."

Like many of Fugard's plays, *Master Harold* deals with a small number of characters and shows them coping with problems unique to the South African setting. In such plays as *The Blood Knot*, *Boesman and Lena* and *Sizwe Bansi is Dead* he has dealt with the degradation suffered by non-whites under apartheid. In other plays, most notably in his last, *A Lesson from Aloes*, he has also written about the effects of the system of Afrikanerdom. His plays are always about people rather than politics (he describes himself as a "miniaturist"), but they are about people profoundly affected by the country they live in.

Master Harold is a powerful one-act play based on an episode in Fugard's own life. Set in 1950, it concerns a 17-year-old white boy, Hally, and the two black men, Sam and Willie, who work as waiters in the tea-room Hally's mother owns. Hally and Sam have a special rapport - Hally "teaches" Sam

In London at the moment are two important men of letters from Africa: Kenya's Ngugi wa Thiong'o and South Africa's Athol Fugard. Both talk about their work and its political context. Also, a review of the "Young Blood" design exhibition at the Barbican.

what he learns at school, while Sam is clearly "educating" Hally in other ways. On a rainy afternoon Hally, a precocious, self-conscious boy, jokes and reminisces good-bumouredly with the two men until he learns that his crippled father, of whom he is cruelly ashamed, is to return home from a stay in hospital. At a peak of adolescent frustration and shame, Hally turns, with terrible inevitability, on Sam. He insists on being addressed properly as "Master Harold", and he taunts Sam with vicious racist jokes. At the climax of the play he spits on him.

"Ten years ago", Fugard says, "you were taking on a very heavy number if you decided to have a mixed cast on stage". The relaxation of segregation in the theatre, applying to both auditorium and stage, was "a bit of a cosmetic job". ("It mustn't be interpreted as a measure of an easing in the whole society") but it gave people working in theatre "a marvellous degree of freedom". It also meant for him personally that he need no longer struggle with his conscience over the issue. He had taken the controversial decision to continue writing in and about South Africa throughout the period of theatre segregation, on the grounds that to stop writing would be less of a protest than to carry on. As his recently published *Notebooks* show, it was a very difficult decision to make; and if segregation were to be reintroduced he says he would now set himself the task of "I don't think I would now be able to accept that compromise".

In the late sixties he took another controversial stand, over the British playwrights' boycott of South Africa - a boycott that continues today despite the existence of theatres like the Market in Johannesburg that have always been "open". Mannie Manim, director of the Market, is also in London; he shares Fugard's often-stated view that plays have a useful subversive influence in South Africa

because they make audiences think: "Everybody in South Africa who doesn't want anyone to think is dejected with the boycott", he says, "they're just thrilled". Both men also condemn the double standards of British writers (citing Willy Russell) who won't allow their plays to be performed in mixed theatres in South Africa, but whose films are shown in whites-only cinemas. Such writers don't make moral stands about their films, Manim suggests, because there's so much money at stake.

Of course plays by British writers are published in South Africa, as they are available in the written form to everyone. This division of works into their different forms - text, performance, film - was recently highlighted when, just as the Market production of *Master Harold* was being set up, the text was unexpectedly banned. The banning was probably an official error, and Fugard won an appeal against it, but while it was in force the cast could legally perform the play in public, but couldn't legally possess copies of the text from which to learn their lines.

At the time of the banning Fugard expressed surprise and bafflement: *Master Harold*, he said, was much less obviously political than most of his other plays. He's aware, indeed, that his work is becoming increasingly personal. The play he is currently writing, called *The Road to Mecca*, is primarily about old age. "The backdrop is definitely South Africa, with its religious and racial bigotry, but the focus is not on the famous South African racial and political issues".

Another trend in his writing he is willing to admit (although he insists he's never been aware of it) is the growing importance of symbolism. In *A Lesson from Aloes* it was the symbol of the aloes-plant itself, grimly surviving in an arid landscape, rooting itself ever more firmly in response to



John Karl as Sam in *Master Harold and the Boys*.

drought, that provided a perfect image for the decision of Piet (and of the playwright) to stick it out in South Africa, to become more devoted to the country the worse things got. In *Master Harold* the symbol is of ballroom dancing. The men explain to Hally the joy of being out on a dancefloor where nobody bumps into anyone else - "a world without collisions".

Master Harold is an affectionate play, and if there's one major characteristic of Fugard's work it is compassion. He has great sympathy for his characters (though some have been hard to love: Boesman in *Boesman and Lena* he cared for despite "all that was awful and terrible about that poor little blunted bastard"). And he has an overwhelming compassion for his country - and emotion which he knows

it is difficult for others to understand. Fellow South Africans who share his political views are leaving the country in droves - and he says he respects their decision to do so. But for his South Africa provides "as many reasons to celebrate - individual people, the magnificent landscape - as reasons to despair. I hang on because the affirmations still add up".

Lynne Truss

"*Master Harold*" is now in repertory at the Cottesloe Theatre until the end of February. The text is published by Oxford University Press at £3.50. *A Lesson from Aloes* is published by Fober at £3.95.

Gordon Bowker reflects the renewed critical and personal interest in the writer Malcolm Lowry

The consul at sunset

In December 1936, shortly after arriving in Mexico, Malcolm Lowry wrote a short story about a chronically alcoholic Englishman living in the town of Cuernavaca high in the Sierra Madre in the brooding shadow of the snow-capped volcano, Popocatepetl. Almost immediately he began to expand it into a novel. It took him eight years and four more drafts to complete *Under the Volcano*, considered by some to be the finest prose work produced by an English writer this century.

The action of the book takes place on the Day of the Dead, November 2, 1938, and tells the story of the last day in the life of an ex-British consul, Geoffrey Firmin. Desolated by his wife Yvonne's desertion and her affairs with an old film director friend Laurelle, and with his own half-brother Hugh, and overwhelmed by the futility of his own existence, he is steadily drinking himself into a state of oblivion.

He is too impotent to respond to Yvonne's attempts at reconciliation, and rejects with contempt Hugh's Communist pretensions. Both fail to halt the consul's downward slide, and finally he is murdered by fascist policemen and thrown into a ravine together with a dead dog.

Under the Volcano, however, is more than the story of one man's life and death. It is a narrative of great metaphorical power, which moves along its fateful trajectory with the inevitability of a Greek tragedy and unfolds with all the gripping force, the hauntingness and portentous imagery of an Expressionist film epic.

Geoffrey Firmin is not just a rake at the end of his progress. He is Dante in the inferno, Adam expelled from Eden, Faust about to be cast into Hell, a black magician who has lost his powers. Everyman offered glimpses of Paradise even while being strangled by Death and broken on the infernal machine of cruel gods. The consul's drunkenness, wrote Lowry later, symbolises "the universal drunkenness of war" and Mexico was "the ideal setting for the struggle of a human being against the powers of darkness and light".

The portents of death are everywhere - pariah dogs, crucifixes, cemeteries, a dying man. But so, too, are the symbols of life and beauty - doves, the stars, the snow-capped peak of the volcano, visions of a lovely northern paradise. Hallucinating on megal, the powerful local gave-based liquor, Firmin's journey towards the magic mountain of Popocatepetl ends in the Tartarus of a barranca which serves as an open sewer.

The Mexican Day of the Dead, with its bizarre atmosphere of carnival and lamentation, provides a backdrop to the action which is both menacing and strangely comforting, for only by embracing death it is believed, can the soul be saved from extinction. November 2, 1938 was also Lowry Europe's Day of the Dead. In Spain, the Battle of the Ebro was being fought to its bloody conclusion and the forces of mass annihilation were about to be unleashed upon a heedless world.

For the consul, the acceptance of his own inevitable destruction is his one last defiance to make a meaningful gesture in an absurd world gone mad. And, like Christ crucified, his violent death at the hands of the powers of evil might offer to others some hope of redemption.

Lowry's technique is consciously experimental; Interior monologue, a perspective which shifts through 12 chapters between four different characters and a narrative line further disrupted by typographical devices, ironic reflections, flashbacks and ironic literary allusions, are rendered into a prose style which is poetic, elaborate and masterly.

"After submitting *Under the Volcano* to Jonathan Cape in 1945, Lowry received a fiftieth of the hostile reactions the book was later to provoke in a less-than-favourable report from the publishers' reader." The Mexican point of view on the novel was very well done, it said, but the elaborate flashbacks were "tedious and distracting" and the ending was "imposed" and "forced".



Lowry as a young man

Victim of his own mythology

Twenty-five years after his death, interest in Lowry and his work has renewed, revealing a complex writer and a more sympathetic and straightforward man than the mythology has suggested.

The novelist's brother Russell Lowry has allowed *THE TIMES* to publish for the first time these family photographs of Malcolm as a young man. Russell Lowry writes of the first picture: "This happy photograph of Malcolm, incidentally very characteristic of the lad I knew so well and liked so much, was taken by me, in 1924 at Budeleigh Salterton" where the Lowry family took their holidays.

The beach was painfully stony and hatters had to change and dress in old-fashioned hatching machines. Here Malcolm and his father Arthur pose together (top right).

In the third photo, Malcolm gleefully holds aloft a lobster caught while on holiday in Guernsey. Together, they suggest a young man far removed from the miseries and self-doubts which haunted the adult Lowry.

Freya had succumbed were "too long, weary and elaborate".

Lowry's response was an extraordinary 15,000 word letter justifying everything he had included and defending the organic integrity of the whole book. It was a brilliant, elegant and ironic commentary on the work and its composition and was to dictate much of the Lowry scholarship to come.

It also highlighted what is evident in the book itself, namely that Lowry anticipated a deconstructionist reading of the *Volcano*'s text. This he achieved partly by producing a piece of self-reflection, metafiction (the consul is also a writer, writing his life as he lives it and the death he is about to die) and partly by using Malcolm Lowry, the ironic, self-mocking, self-torturing, alcoholically-inspired maker of his own myth and orchestrator of borrowed motifs, as the major theme of his text.

The book, he said, was open to a wide variety of interpretations apart from his own, and later wrote: "My intention was - and has ever since remained to me - obscure." The author, to parody Barthes, was not only dead, he had been put to death by his own hand.

Under the Volcano was published in the United States in February 1947 and some six months later in Britain. Here reviews were mixed, but in America the book was a critical success. *The New York Review of Books* said it was a novel which achieved "a rich variety of meaning on many levels, which is written in a style both witty and poetic, which possesses a profundity of insight, which is, in short, literature." Acknowledging Lowry's debt to Joyce, the *Saturday Review of Literature* thought the pupil "better, far better" than the master.

Drawing a similar parallel, Mark Schorer, in the *New York Herald Tribune*, greeted it as an achievement "of the 'Joycean' order", adding that "few novels convey so powerfully the agony of alienation, the infernal suffering of 'disintegration'." It was, he wrote, "a novel of opulent texture and consequent resonant meaning" which left the reader "at once exhausted and exhilarated".

In Britain the critical temperature was markedly lower. One of the warmest receptions was given by *The Times Literary Supplement* whose anonymous reviewer said that the author "has created a character in whose individual struggle is reflected

something of the larger agony of the human spirit".

Walter Allard, writing in *The New Statesman*, however, while finding it "a genuinely tragic novel of great concentration and power", complained that "Mr Lowry's characters and method come to us with too many associations clinging to them", and concluded: "How much happier one would feel about this novel, impressive though it is if one were not so conscious at every page of its literary sources."

D. S. Savage in *The Spectator* thought the book successful, interesting, perceptive and promising, but its author (whom he wrongly supposed to be American) had "intellectual pretensions" and "writes rather prolixly; a slight thread of incident carries too heavy a burden of reflections and perceptions".

In America the book was for a time a bestseller, and it has since enjoyed considerable success elsewhere, notably in France and Germany. Here only half of the first edition was sold and the rest was soon reprinted.

The book's reception in the country of his birth seems to have been disappointed and puzzled Lowry, but it has been argued that, living through out the 1940s and early 1950s mostly in Canada, he had lost touch with the prevailing cultural climate in Britain. For example, Anthony Burgess, who has called *Under the Volcano* "a Faustian masterpiece", wrote in 1967: "Despite its British hero, it was not considered 'provincial' enough here; the study of evil and human degradation was too profound, the exploitation of myth and language asked for very strenuous engagement."

Malcolm Bradbury has noted how writers obsessed with an experimental and cosmopolitan view of art, like Beckett, Durrell and Lowry, all ex-patriates who began writing in the 1930s, represented a modernist tradition largely eclipsed in postwar Britain. However, it is probably true to say that the Dark Ages for modernism had descended here a decade earlier and it was exactly this which drove Lowry and other experimental writers abroad.

Of course, it was not the first time, nor would it be the last, that a British novel of bold metaphorical sweep and experimental style was welcomed in America and ignored here. Little reaction to D. M. Thomas's *The White Hotel* was only the most recent example of the kind of treatment. (Oddly

enough, Lowry, like Thomas, was accused of plagiarism, though he openly admitted borrowing from Melville, Joyce, Faulkner and Conrad Alken among others.)

Since his death a few scholars have warmed to him, notably Malcolm Bradbury and Muriel Bradbury and the current resurgence of interest in modernist fiction may finally have produced a climate more favourable to his work. The forthcoming film version of *Under the Volcano*, recently completed by John Huston in Mexico, with Albert Finney as the consul, should also bring him to the attention of a wider readership.

At present, few surveys of the British novel mention Lowry and often he is thought wrongly to be American or from Canada where he spent most of his later years living in a shack on the coast of British Columbia. He was, however, born in New Brighton, Cheshire in 1909, son of a Liverpool cotton broker, and educated at The Leys School and St Catharine's College, Cambridge.

At 17 he shipped to China as a deckhand on a freighter and the result was *Under the Volcano* (published in 1933), a very mannered sea saga of a youthful soul to torment, which he was allowed to submit towards his degree at St Catharine's. As a student he did little work, drank heavily and was already romanticizing his past life and cultivating the image of Malcolm Lowry, *poète maudit*.

After Cambridge, where he scribbled a third, he lived a Bohemian life in London, Spain and then in Paris. Here he contracted a disastrous marriage with Jan Gabriel, a young American writer and socialist, who soon left him. When he followed her to New York, his drinking led to him spending several weeks as a voluntary patient in Bellevue Mental Hospital (the experience formed the basis for his novella *Lunar Caustic*).

He then went to Hollywood where he tried, unsuccessfully, to break into



enough, Lowry, like Thomas, was accused of plagiarism, though he openly admitted borrowing from Melville, Joyce, Faulkner and Conrad Alken among others.)

Since his death a few scholars have warmed to him, notably Malcolm Bradbury and Muriel Bradbury and the current resurgence of interest in modernist fiction may finally have produced a climate more favourable to his work. The forthcoming film version of *Under the Volcano*, recently completed by John Huston in Mexico, with Albert Finney as the consul, should also bring him to the attention of a wider readership.

At present, few surveys of the British novel mention Lowry and often he is thought wrongly to be American or from Canada where he spent most of his later years living in a shack on the coast of British Columbia. He was, however, born in New Brighton, Cheshire in 1909, son of a Liverpool cotton broker, and educated at The Leys School and St Catharine's College, Cambridge.

At 17 he shipped to China as a deckhand on a freighter and the result was *Under the Volcano* (published in 1933), a very mannered sea saga of a youthful soul to torment, which he was allowed to submit towards his degree at St Catharine's. As a student he did little work, drank heavily and was already romanticizing his past life and cultivating the image of Malcolm Lowry, *poète maudit*.

After Cambridge, where he scribbled a third, he lived a Bohemian life in London, Spain and then in Paris. Here he contracted a disastrous marriage with Jan Gabriel, a young American writer and socialist, who soon left him. When he followed her to New York, his drinking led to him spending several weeks as a voluntary patient in Bellevue Mental Hospital (the experience formed the basis for his novella *Lunar Caustic*).

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film-writing before rejoining his wife and travelling to Mexico. There his marriage finally disintegrated and his subsequent drinking bouts and disturbing behaviour landed him in jail.

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He lived his last two years in England, where again he spent time undergoing psychiatric treatment, dying at Ripe in Sussex, possibly from suicide, a month short of his 48th birthday in 1957. And although none of his novels and few of his short stories are set in Britain and the major influences on his prose are foreign, his Englishness is at the very core of his writing.

Recent work on his compositional style and on the influence of jazz and German Expressionist cinema on Lowry, and the studies of his later, posthumously-published novels and short stories, strongly suggest that he was probably the most important experimentalist writer of our times.

Even though his publishers abandoned him when he failed to produce another publishable masterpiece, it is arguable that his major works of fiction are not novels in the conventional sense. And, while it is understandable that a publisher looking for a best-seller should have been wary, his neglect by English scholars is nothing short of a literary scandal.

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Robbins VI. Adrian Cadbury looks ahead to the end of the century

The challenges of a changing world

I greatly appreciated taking part in the Leverhulme inquiry into the future of higher education, because the subject is one of such fundamental importance and because it was evidence of the wish to involve the business world in educational discussions. I also liked the Leverhulme approach, which treated us all as members of a team, with different levels of expertise, but an equal responsibility to provide as best we could a sense of direction for the future of higher education. The outcome was a radical report and the generation of a great many educational ideas.

I believe that one of our root problems in Britain lies in the rigidity of our institutions. There is also less movement between the business, academic and governmental worlds than in most similar countries and this reinforces the rigidities. The Leverhulme inquiry drew on a wide range of opinions and experience and came down firmly on the side of loosening the structure of higher education. I am sure that movement is essential and that we should not let this particular pot go off the boil.

It is only fair that I should make clear my own prejudices in respect of education. My basic view is that we tend to undervalue the abilities of individuals at school and at work and in consequence we diminish their expectations of themselves. I would therefore like to see the system of higher education changing to enable more people to take advantage of what it has to offer, so that they can make the most of their talents and interests and widen their own horizons in their own way.

A number of forces are bringing about change in higher education in any case; the issue is how to turn these pressures to advantage by encouraging the right kind of response to them. What is quite clear is that there is no return to the educational security and certainty of Robbins.

The University Grants Committee cuts mark a permanent change in the way in which higher education will be financed for the future. Education has been a growth industry for so long, that the new reality is only becoming accepted with reluctance. It is a delusion to suppose that future political changes might restore the old funding arrangements.

Then there is the statistical fact of life that the population of 18-year-olds will fall dramatically between now and the mid-1990s. But these points together and the future for an unchanged structure of higher education is one of sharp decline, both in terms of

the supply of funds and of the demand for places.

The positive response to reduced Government finance is to look elsewhere for money. Other sources of funds can be found and the lessening of dependence on the state will encourage educational institutions to differentiate themselves and to develop new initiatives.

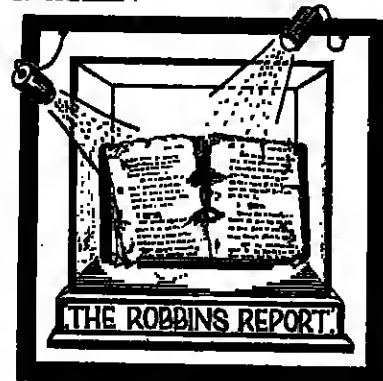
Changes in the way institutions of higher education are funded will change their outlook and their external relationships. The academic world and the world of work will thereby be brought closer together, a move from which both would benefit.

The positive response to falling numbers in the traditional age and ability group is to relax both those constraints. I do not believe that the pool of those who can benefit from higher education is fixed and can be determined in advance. In fact the reverse is true; it is the volume of demand which should determine the size and shape of the higher education system. The decisive factor would then be the ability of the system to adapt to the wider variety of needs of a bigger pool of students.

It is worth considering some of the ways in which our society and its economy are likely to change over the next 20 years to assess how that might affect the demands on higher education. There is, for example, the continuing swing in employment away from manufacturing industry towards the service industries. This is a feature of developed economies and is relatively predictable.

There are physical limits to the demand for goods and capital is continuously being substituted for labour in their manufacture. There are no obvious limits to the demand for such services as health care, education and the provision of information and these services depend primarily on people, even though the administration of them will increasingly be automated. Service industries are also less subject to foreign competition than are the manufacturing goods.

It is not generally recognized how dramatically the employment position is changing, between June 1976 and September 1982, 1.5 million jobs were lost and that was roughly the loss from the manufacturing sector alone. By September 1982 professional and scientific services, insurance and banking and eating and drinking more people than the whole of manufacturing industry. At the same time the numbers of people self-employed, whether officially or unofficially, has risen rapidly. On top of this general picture of the



THE ROBBINS REPORT

decline of manufacturing industry and the growth of the service industries and of self-employment, there is the impact of the new technology. This will have the same effect on the numbers employed in administration, as micro-processors have had on the numbers employed on production lines.

That is not the end of the matter; the ability to distribute computer power, and the access to information which goes with it, changes throughout an organization will alter the way it is structured and managed. Managers down the line can then take decisions, which they previously had to refer upwards, because the basis for making such decisions will be available to them.

A further consequence will be to enable more people to work from home, because effective communication will no longer need to be face-to-face.

My guess is that most large organizations, not just those in business, will have to be broken down into manageable units, manageable that is in human terms, if they are to survive in an unpredictable and competitive world. In pursuit of that aim they will provide the minimum of services from within and buy services in as far as possible from outside, so increasing the market for self-employment.

Changes in the way in which work is done and the kind of work available and in the way it is organized are likely to be accompanied by changed attitudes towards work. People will increasingly expect to fit their work into their lives, rather than the other way round. They will be looking for flexible hours of work and for the chance to work part-time or on one job, perhaps one paid and the other unpaid, or one in the formal and one in the informal economy. Pay will be for work done rather than for time spent on an employer's premises; individuals will want personal contracts of employment, providing the combination of cash, hours and conditions which suits them.

If this is the direction of change over the next 20 years, what demands will it impose on education? There will clearly be considerable demand for technical skills required to produce and service the new technology and a universal demand for competence in handling it.

If more people are to be self-employed and if the units which make up large organizations are to become more autonomous, there will be a demand for business education on a greater scale than in the past. Finally more voluntary and involuntary leisure will generate a further and less predictable set of demands on the educational system.

When we clear away from this superficial picture of the changes in the world, we are likely to be called for. The present structure cannot easily accommodate growth areas such as the demand for technical and continuing education and at the same time provide more equal access to higher education right across the population.

It is also difficult to envisage what will be demanded of higher education, as opposed to the educational system as a whole; the two are inextricably linked. It is significant that the companies making personal computers see the future as one in which everyone doing a job will ultimately be doing so in partnership with an 'intelligent workstation'.

Will the boundaries between basic, further and higher education be retained in such a world? Will a society in which most employed people will be dealing with 'intelligent' and 'unintelligent' machines and in which education and work become blurred? I emphasize the educational demands on the educational system, because

in the past the students were the customers for higher education, now higher education is the customer and to be successful it needs to attract its students from a broader constituency than in the past. A wider and deeper pool of students will require a different range of courses and a different approach to higher education itself.

Another set of changes will be needed in the wake of the new technology, whose impact on education will be equivalent to its impact on business. It will alter methods of learning and of teaching and it will promote distance learning. It will shape what it is that young and old students will want to learn. It will also bring a new group of potential students into the pool, who are at home with machines as they are deterred by pen and paper.

The Manpower Services Commission training workshops have given young people, who have dropped out of school courses which they found irrelevant, the chance to work with the new technology. The enthusiasm and rapidity with which they mastered its techniques is an indictment of our failure to capture their interest at school and in the measure of a growing divergence between what work and education have to offer to them.

I will finish with the question of access to higher education. We need to increase the number of gateways into the system at all ages to encourage more points of contact between people at work and in education. More people would take up what higher education has to offer if they felt that higher education was within their reach in all senses.

The physical location of educational institutions is one aspect of being within reach in a flexible timetabling. Part-time courses, for example, were the first to go under financial pressures; this was understandable but was a move in precisely the wrong direction for the future.

I believe that educational institutions could do more to nourish their roots in their local community and to encourage a wider public to use their campuses for access to lectures, recreational facilities and libraries, for holding meetings of associations of all kinds. For too many people higher education is still a world apart.

These barriers of attitude and tradition cannot be lowered by action from the centre, but only by establishing closer links between individuals and institutions on the ground. Hence the importance of effective local centres of higher education, drawing support and funding from their community. Since local needs will vary, such centres should have the ability to develop them in a way that suits them.

I therefore support to the full the Leverhulme call for diversity, for as wide a range of institutions as possible. Whether there is overlap between them is less important, than that each individual institution should have its own clear sense of purpose.

Higher education has the opportunity to turn hard times to advantage by seeking to meet the changing needs of a broader constituency than in the past. We should not, however, underestimate what we are asking of a structure, which has its share of the rigidities characteristic of British society.

It will involve narrowing the historical divide between the worlds of work and of education and showing a considerable ability to adapt to a rapidly changing world - all at a time of no growth. This is a formidable challenge and it is the reason why it is essential to keep up the pressure behind the Leverhulme agenda.

St. Adrian Cadbury is chairman of Cadbury Schweppes PLC.

In a recent news release from the Royal Greenwich at Herstmonceux, Michael Peacock and others announced that a giant black hole of almost a hundred million times the Sun's mass, had been discovered at the centre of the galaxy NGC 4151, located in the constellation Virgo. In 1969, Professor Lynden-Bell, then also at Herstmonceux, had predicted that quasars ("quasistellar stars") and Seyfert galaxies, both sources of massive and hitherto unexplained power, were fuelled by giant black holes. At the time, interestingly, NGC 4151 was considered a likely location for a black hole.

These most dramatic and mysterious of celestial phenomena had a lively existence in popular science fiction before they were confirmed in fact. Essentially, a black hole is a collapsed star with a mass so great that its gravitational field prevents the escape of any radiation, including light. This causes the so-called "event horizon", the point beyond which no event can be observed. Detection of black holes depended not on visual observation but on deductions and inferences drawn from the collapsed star's ability to immensely distort space.

Now it appears that the theory has been confirmed and that black holes do exist, adding another dimension to our knowledge of the physical universe and posing still more questions for physicists and cosmologists.



Galaxy NGC 4151: situated in the constellation Virgo, the location of the recently discovered black hole. Right, Professor Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar, Nobel Prize winner 1983.



Fact overtakes fiction

In 1772 Michell realized that gravity would act on light just as it did on Newton's apple. He was trying to find a way of measuring the masses of the stars. More massive stars would have stronger gravity. The velocity needed to escape from the gravity of such a star would likewise be larger. Michell wrongly believed that even light would be slowed during this escape so he suggested that the masses of the stars might be determined if the velocity of the light from them were measured. In 1783 he speculated that light might be so greatly retarded by the gravity of a very massive star that it actually fell back. Then no light could get to a distant telescope; such stars would be invisible. This simple picture contains one essential truth about black holes: it even predicts their radii correctly as $2GM/c^2$, however, it lacks the fascination of the modern concept which emerged this century.

When Einstein wrote the equations of General Relativity in 1915, Karl Schwarzschild solved them exactly to describe the nature of space-time close to a point mass. This solution generalizes Einstein's demonstration that a star of the radius of Betelgeuse had the density of water, then space-time would become so curved as to close around it. However, he only used this argument to dismiss such bodies as impossible. In doing so he threw away the seeds of modern astrophysics.

In 1939 Robert Oppenheimer, who later became famous on the atomic bomb project, showed that the collapse of a perfectly cold spherical cloud of matter would make a black hole of Schwarzschild's type. As it fell together, it would accelerate inwardly to reach the speed of light as it crossed the Schwarzschild radius - thereafter nothing could be seen from the outside although the gravity of the black hole would still be felt. Black holes could no longer be regarded as strange unphysical solutions of Einstein's equations - they occurred in the natural evolution from a perfectly normal starting point. They were thus natural predictions of General Relativity.

Control over public spending fits uneasily with the massive growth of expenditure on police and prisons. As the Treasury is becoming aware, the relationship between spending on law enforcement and the volume of recorded crime is at best marginal and at worst perverse.

However, the conflict between objectives is most acute when one considers the inner city disturbances of 1981. (In evidence particularly at that year's Conservative Party conference).

These events were symptomatic of the severe strains now being experienced by British society as a result of Government policy to counter inflation by increasing unemployment. Indeed, the very real fear of crime which the black and white community has felt since the 1960s may itself be a factor in the current situation.

On the other hand, such explanations - or excuses - carried little weight with those who subscribe to the theories of criminology. The proposition that unemployment was associated with the rise and with crime generally was met with the rejoinder in the words of a letter to *The Times*:

"The unemployment picture 50 years ago was infinitely worse and the violent crime rate in general was at a much lower level."

Unfortunately, the statistical evidence is incomplete and unreliable. Apart from anything else, the official, bureaucratic definitions of both unemployment and crime have changed substantially since the 1930s.

In contrast to both unemployment and crime, it is at least reasonably easy

An intriguing aspect of Schwarzschild's space-time is that as the atom is placed closer and closer to the black hole (or Schwarzschild) radius, $r = 2GM/c^2$, the distant observer sees everything occurring very much more slowly - so much so that time would appear to stand still at the Schwarzschild radius itself. At first, it was thought that this singular behaviour of Schwarzschild's solution was an artifact caused by the misrepresentation of a finite body as a point mass. Attempts by Schwarzschild and by Einstein to make static bodies smaller than the Schwarzschild radius showed this to be impossible.

An early hint that the Schwarzschild radius was not unphysical came in Sir Arthur Eddington's work in 1924 when he found that the apparently singular behaviour of time had no effect on the local physics of an observer falling through the Schwarzschild radius. Eddington also pointed out that if a star of the radius of Betelgeuse had the density of water, then space-time would become so curved as to close around it.

Armed with this small slice and the large mass from the radio emission, it was not hard to argue that the variable light source of quasars was not much bigger than black holes of the same mass. It was then a matter of constructing a theory of how a giant black hole could be used as a power house. The concept of 1969 paper was that gas falls down a black hole via a whirlpool in which friction heats the material to

incandescence. One can calculate how much light is liberated and what such an incandescent disc looks like from afar. The total power emitted was already known from earlier work by Salpeter. While the observational evidence behind this giant black hole picture was quite indelicate, there was then no confirmatory evidence.

Since that time, much work has been done by Rees and others on the formation of giant black holes and evidence from both X-ray, optical and radio astronomy has strengthened the case that the galactic nuclei are the centres of activity. The current work by Penrose et al has shown us a heavy mass in a very small volume within the nucleus of the Galaxy NGC 4151. Taken together with the strong X-ray emission, this makes a good case for a giant black hole there, and the first with a good mass determination. Strong cases for black holes of stellar masses have been made by optical astronomers following the discoveries of X-ray emission from the binary stars Cygnus X1 and SMC X3. Black holes of these smaller masses have been expected by some, ever since Chandrasekhar in 1938 gave the first accurate estimate, 1.44 suns, for the maximum mass of a cold burnt-out star (white dwarf). (Professor Chandrasekhar was joint winner of the 1983 Nobel Prize for Physics for work on the evolution of stars.) Much heavier stars are known and there is no way they can do peacefully. We now have evidence that some die by falling in on them, selves leaving behind only emptiness.

Other properties of black holes remain to be detected. In 1963 Kerr, by great mathematical ingenuity, discovered the Kerr metric solutions of Einstein's equations. These describe space-time around rotating black holes. Further work by Boyer, Carter, Roger Penrose and Stephen Hawking showed remarkable properties of those

solutions including the ergosphere, a region in which a sort of gravitational magnetism caused by the rotation dominates over normal gravity. Penrose showed it possible to extract some of the hole's rotational energy by allowing a particle to split up in such a region. Carter even showed that Kerr solutions with too much spin for their mass acted like H. G. Wells's time machines.

Unfortunately, if one starts from a physical mass distribution, it seems impossible to make such a black hole. These high-spin Kerr solutions are awkward in other ways - they have an exposed ring singularity where Einstein's equations fail. To exclude such unphysical situations, scientists have suggested the principle of cosmic censorship. No such singularities must be seen by the outside world; they are only allowed to occur behind the black curtains provided by the surfaces of black holes. All the rapidly spinning Kerr metrics in which Carter's time-machine occurs have exposed or naked singularities and are therefore eliminated by the cosmic censor. I should emphasize that cosmic censorship is as yet only a reasonable hypothesis.

There is no precise agreed statement of what it censors, nor is there any proof that a development of this kind will not develop one of the naked singularities that censorship aims to suppress. Of course anyone brave enough may pass through the black curtains and in some cases, he will be able to see such singularities without first being torn apart by them; but no one that goes in can send messages out or return to the world outside.

Some sorts of singularity may escape the censor and it is intriguing to wonder whether it will ever be possible to see through into another space-time just as one sees two spaces superposed on looking through a half-silvered mirror.

D. Lynden-Bell

The author is director of the Institute of Astronomy, University of Cambridge.

Learning from the 1930s: Stephen Shaw reexamines the link between crime and unemployment

The not-so-golden olden days

Control over public spending fits uneasily with the massive growth of expenditure on police and prisons. As the Treasury is becoming aware, the relationship between spending on law enforcement and the volume of recorded crime is at best marginal and at worst perverse.

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However, the conflict between objectives is most acute when one considers the inner city disturbances of 1981. (In evidence particularly at that year's Conservative Party conference).

These events were symptomatic of the severe strains now being experienced by British society as a result of Government policy to counter inflation by increasing unemployment. Indeed, the very real fear of crime which the black and white community has felt since the 1960s may itself be a factor in the current situation.

On the other hand, such explanations - or excuses - carried little weight with those who subscribe to the theories of criminology. The proposition that unemployment was associated with the rise and with crime generally was met with the rejoinder in the words of a letter to *The Times*:

"The unemployment picture 50 years ago was infinitely worse and the violent crime rate in general was at a much lower level."

In contrast to both unemployment and crime, it is at least reasonably easy

to measure the prison population. However, there are important trade-offs between the number of people in prison and the number in psychiatric hospitals, and between the numbers in young offender establishments and the numbers in the "care" of the local authority.

When we look back to the inter-war period we do find a remarkable correspondence between changes in the rate of unemployment and the prison population. Indeed, there is now a great deal of evidence from a number of countries that the statistical relationship between unemployment and imprisonment is extremely strong.

Moreover, this evidence suggests that the two are related in a way which cannot be explained by changes in the official crime rate. It appears that there is a tendency for courts to use imprisonment more intensively at times of economic and social distress.

On the other hand, the number of serious (indictable) offences recorded grew from less than 90,000 just after the First World War to roughly three times that number in 1938. The numbers have continued to grow ever since and the present figure is in excess of two million, although this is not directly comparable in terms of coverage.

So far as the use of imprisonment is concerned, during the First World War the prison population roughly halved and reached a low point with a daily

average of 9,199 in 1918/19. This compares with a present-day total of around 44,000.

Throughout the inter-war period the prison population was only one quarter of its present size. Between 1921 and 1929 it remained around the 11,000 mark but rose by over 2,000 (20 per cent) between 1929 and 1932. Thereafter, the prison population fell back until 1938 when there was a sudden rise, again mirroring the rise in unemployment.

One crucial distinction between the inter-war period and today is that in the 1930s youth unemployment formed a much lower proportion of the jobless total. This was due in part to the failure to register and hence not to a "real" difference, but this cannot be the whole answer.

Under-registration is prevalent today, particularly among young blacks. Since it was regular practice to face the sack on reaching adulthood to adult rates of pay, the relatively lower wages payable to young people between the wars was a factor in their lower level of unemployment.

The present much higher level of youth unemployment has obvious implications for any understanding of the links between unemployment and crime. For even in the 1930s, one third of all those convicted of indictable offences were under 17 and nearly one half under 21.

Without labelling the issue of re-

gional distribution, opportunities for crime and the sense of relative deprivation are much greater in the inner cities of the 1980s than they were in the depressed mining villages of the 1930s when the unemployed were geographically and socially isolated from centres of affluence in the south-east.

In addition the post-war pattern of urban "development" has destroyed working-class communities, making the working class itself less cohesive and self-supportive. Crime is a habit learned in cities.

For reasons which now appear to be fortuitous, the 20 years after 1945 witnessed unprecedented economic advance, political stability and social harmony. On all three counts, it is evident that these trends have reversed dramatically.

For the present Government, this has thrown up the contradiction between its economic policy and its commitment to a particular type of social control. Hence prisons are built instead of hospitals, while the Home Secretary pleads with the judiciary to reduce the length of prison sentences.

The real price for the present folly is paid by the innocent victims of crime. Yet it is also paid by the unemployed youngsters currently filling detention and youth custody centres. If they cannot work - and that, it seems, is to be denied them - it is cruelly ironic that the only community service available is that enforced on being found guilty of a criminal offence.

The author is director of the Prison Reform Trust.

INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY (IT) YEAR

This year, the Government has encouraged everyone to know about and exploit IT. What about IT in British higher education? Are academics aware of IT and do they exploit it? What impact has it had, in particular, on teaching approaches?

In June this year the THES published an 8-page special feature which tried to answer some of these questions. Contributors include David Hawtrey, Professor of Applied Educational Sciences and Director of the Institute of Educational Technology at the Open University; Margaret Boden, Professor of Philosophy and Psychology at the University of Sussex; and A. N. Barrett, a Mathematical Scientist at the Computing Laboratory at the National Institute for Medical Research.

Reprints of this 8-page feature are available, price 80p including postage and packing within the UK, from Frances Goddard, The Times Supplements, Priory House, St John's Lane, London EC4M 4BX. Please make your cheque/postal orders (no cash please) payable to: Times Newspapers Limited.

BOOKS

A gifted public man

by Norman Gash

Albert, Prince Consort: a biography by Robert Rhodes James Hamish Hamilton, £12.50 ISBN 0 241 11000 9
 Prince Albert: his life and work by Hermione Hobhouse Hamish Hamilton, £10.95 ISBN 0 241 11142 0
 The Cult of the Prince Consort by Elizabeth Darby and Nicola Smith Yale University Press, £10.00 ISBN 0 300 13015 0

It was a charge of Sir Lewis Namier against historical biographers that they rely too much on personal papers and fail to acquaint themselves adequately with the contemporary background.

One is reminded of this when reading Robert Rhodes James's life of Prince Albert, which is an uneven and, judged by his own high standards, in some respects a disappointing book. Mr James seems only fitfully informed of recent work on the period. The background is thin, often superficial. There are a number of erroneous statements – that Russell and Palmerston favoured complete free trade in corn in 1841; that in the general election of that year the Whig party organization was "non-existent"; that Wellington was in charge in London at the time of the Chartist demonstration in April 1848; that Palmerston at the start of the famous Don Pacifico debate in 1850 "seemed doomed"; and, writing of the latter, Mr James really ought to know the difference between the secretary for war and the secretary at war.

There is also a lack of balance. He devotes a page to a description of the attempt on the queen's life by Edward Oxford in 1840 but passes over in one vague sentence the negotiations between Albert and Peel through Anson which paved the way for the new Conservative ministry and gave the prince his first political success. He spends a whole paragraph on the irrelevant issue of Gladstone's resignation over Maynooth, including the odd remark that Gladstone's absence from the Commons in 1846 "was a major – although probably not crucial – factor" in the events of that year. "The Corn Law crisis he discusses at what seems disproportionate length but less as a biographer of Albert than as a Tory MP still indignant at the disruption of his party. If he thought it necessary to deal with it at such length, he should at least have examined the whole history of free-trade policy in the 1841–46 administration. The implication that Peel suddenly in 1846 attempted "the introduction of Free Trade by an elected Protectionist Government", when the context is general commercial policy, not just corn, is a caricature of the actual situation.

One's unease is not allayed by quotations from historians who were hardly authorities for the subjects on which they are invoked, even when alive. To go to Justin McCarthy for a view on Peel and H. A. L. Fisher for a verdict on the Crimean War is scarcely serious scholarship.

That Mr James, a busy constituency MP, had little time in which to master an unfamiliar period, is understandable. Yet the book is not beyond mere competence. It is a competent, if unexciting, study of secondary importance. It effects a central aspect of Albert's career. The decade from 1830 to 1860 was the period when the influence of the crown in what might be called ministerial, as distinct from party, politics was at its height. The reason is simple. The political parties were more confused and divided at these years than at any other time during Victoria's reign. The weakness of party was the opportunity of the monarchy. Yet Mr James does not so much neglect this theme as ignore it. The encounter between the royal couple and Lord Stanley in 1851; the part played by the monarchy in the creation of the Aberdeen coalition in 1852; their work in helping Palmerston to form a government in 1855 and ensuring its survival; the cooler attitude towards the Peelites after 1855; the improved relationship with Lord Derby's ministry in 1858–59; the invitation to Gladstone to form a government (the boldest and most dangerous step) by the Prince in

direct intervention in ministerial politics is not even alluded to; and the crucial choice of Palmerston rather than Russell in 1859 – these matters, though essential to any proper assessment of Albert's political influence, are largely passed over in silence. As far as this book is concerned, after 1850 prime ministers emerge and disappear as though by some process of natural selection; there is hardly a hint of royal intervention or even concern. At the precise point when Albert's political role becomes really important, Mr James seems to lose interest in politics and turns to other things. It is an extraordinary gap in an author from whom one might reasonably have expected an informed discussion of the political and constitutional significance of Albert's career. The assertion at the end of the book that the prince was "perhaps the most astute and ambitious politician of his age", even if plausible (which it scarcely is), is unsupported by any convincing evidence.

As a result Mr James is weak where most modern biographers of Victoria and Albert have been strong – that is to say, in their analysis of the characters of the royal couple, their family life, and Albert's patronage of the arts and sciences. On domestic politics he is not as informative as Roger Fulford in his more rounded biography *The Prince Consort* published as long ago as 1949, though even Fulford was noticeably thin on events after 1855. On all other matters, and particularly when dealing with personal relationships, Mr James is excellent – shrewd, perceptive, and imaginative.

He gives much space to Albert's Coburg childhood. Over a quarter of the book is taken up with the period before his marriage. This is probably just, since adolescence is unusually important in the case of one who was as precociously mature as the young prince was when he came to Britain in 1840. The chapter on the education of the future Edward VII is outstandingly good; it would be difficult to imagine how it could be bettered. Mr James pays full and deserved tribute to the prince's intelligence and range of interests; to his incessant activities; to the observant and independent mind, which made his views often right where professional politicians were wrong; to his aesthetic taste and talents; and to the wit, humour and kindness he displayed in private life. Above all he brings to the study of the relationship between Albert and Victoria an illuminating sympathy and understanding which will not easily be surpassed. Though he occasionally overstates his case, he makes good the claim that Victorian Britain had in Albert one of the more gifted public men of his generation.

In a more modest way this is also the theme of Hermione Hobhouse's little book, *Prince Albert: his life and work*, written to accompany the exhibition of the same title at the Royal College of Art. Splendidly illustrated, it concentrates

on Albert's public activities and is particularly full and useful on his interest in the fine arts, his work with industrial exhibitions, and his not inconsiderable talents as royal builder and architect. Short as it is, this is a valuable addition to the large and ever-expanding Albertine historiography. Though a well-known architectural historian, she does not confine herself to technicalities but makes impressively clear the extent to which the prince burdened himself with an impenetrable programme of public duties. He worked ceaselessly, too much for his own health and his wife's happiness. He addressed learned societies, promoted philanthropic enterprises, chaired committees, laid foundation stones, opened institutions; he built, farmed, administered, reformed. His unflagging industry caused both amusement and criticism in the more philistine sections of the Victorian public. Punch caught the condescending mood with its cartoon titles – "H.R.H. at it again!" and "The Industrious Boy". The ceaseless round, while bringing increasing respect from the more serious members of society, was a heavy burden on a man who (as Mr James indicates) even as a boy lacked physical vitality. The photographs in these books of Albert in his later years tell their own story: the smooth, fatish face, the prematurely bald forehead, the guarded expression, the watchful eye, the tired air – all the outer traits that explain his remark to Victoria that he felt like a donkey turning an endless wheel. He died in 1861, at the age of only 42, allegedly though not certainly of typhoid, aggravated by exposure and depression. He lacked any urge to go on; his animal vitality, once great, was exhausted.

In the succeeding years more than two dozen statues were erected to his memory in different parts of the kingdom; more, it was claimed, than for any previous public figure; and this did not include the many private commemorative statues and effigies. The proliferation of memorials strained the inventiveness of the sculptors. Albert was shown in frock coat and trousers, as a field marshal, in Garter robes, in classical toga, in the ceremonial dress of Chancellor of Cambridge University, in Highland kilt and sporran, in medieval armour, in Anglo-Saxon costume. He was shown on horse, on foot; free standing and canopied; in stone, metal and stained glass. He was commemorated with ribbons, cards, medals, photographs, prints; with obelisks, archways, clocktowers, fountains, art galleries, museums, town halls, almshouses, orphan asylums, colleges, schools, hospitals, and of course, the Royal Albert Hall. In their book *The Cult of the Prince Consort*, Elizabeth Darby and Nicola Smith describe this vast outpouring of commemorative objects. Carefully researched, lavishly illustrated, this is a handsome book which reveals much about Victorian society.

A number of reasons can be advanced for this remarkable display of public respect: the contemporary



Prince Albert in 1842, by Thorburn

addition to sentimental piety; the prince's early and unexpected death; guilt at the indifference and prejudice which had marred his career; social snobbery and imitability; Victoria's strong-willed insistence on recognition for the virtues of her adored and departed husband; the new culture of Victorian civic life; and the commercial wealth which made it all possible. In the end the enthusiasm, real or pretended, ran out. Victoria's obsession with her role as a mourning widow, which for a quarter of a century withdrew her from public life, contributed to the waning of interest. As early as 1864 Charles Dickens was writing to a friend that "if you should meet with an inaccessible cave anywhere to which a hermit could retire from the memory of Prince Albert and testimonials to the same, pray let me know". In 1886, when the queen suggested yet another statue of Prince Albert as an appropriate gift on her golden jubilee from the women of England, even so loyal a courtier as Francis Knollys (surely not Sir William Thomas Knollys as the index to *The Cult of the Prince Consort* suggests?)

could write "people have had almost enough of the Prince Consort".

The Darby and Smith book takes one final question. Would not this title have been "The Iconography of the Prince Consort"? The word icon, after all, presumes a measure of devotion, a group of devotees. Other than his widow, is there much evidence of this? Victorian society had its heroes: Wellington, Florence Nightingale, Gordon of Khartoum, Robert Gordon Candahar, Gladstone, Disraeli, even Victoria herself. Their images at least tended to be larger than life; they were persons who by their exploits, their manliness, longevity, or the sheer lack of events, caught the public imagination. Albert had no place in this small and heterogeneous company. For all his admirability, even remarkable qualities, he never rose to the level of the heroes of the British people. True, refinement, intelligence, and industriousness appeal to the brain, not the heart. If there is a cult of Prince Albert, it is only now beginning.

Norman Gash was until recently professor of history at the University of St Andrews.

book as a debate; they have left their ten authors to write on their own subjects paying as much or as little attention to the overall theme as they wish.

Most of our contributors are only passing glances at the problems of either approach and some ignore the matter altogether. None of which detracts from the interest and scholarship of these essays, but it means that this is a volume in which one would turn for the sake of a particular topic rather than for a discussion of "high" and "popular" politics. This three essays walk the low road with that famous trilogy – Labour, (1900–80) women (1866–1928) and the Irish (1840–45). Three chapters explore the relations between ideas and politics through the medium of Gladstone's theory, Keynes's economics, and "And four tackle decision-making at the top in the areas of social policy 1880–1914, unemployment policy 1931–35, British foreign policy 1936–1945, and the Atomic Government of 1945–51.

Several contributors explore the interaction between the high and popular elements in Labour Party history over eighty years. Some focus on the arguments of 1929–31, and the arguments of 1945–51, and the arguments of 1951–55, and the arguments of 1955–59, and the arguments of 1959–64, and the arguments of 1964–68, and the arguments of 1968–72, and the arguments of 1972–76, and the arguments of 1976–80, and the arguments of 1980–84, and the arguments of 1984–88, and the arguments of 1988–92, and the arguments of 1992–96, and the arguments of 1996–2000, and the arguments of 2000–2004, and the arguments of 2004–2008, and the arguments of 2008–2012, and the arguments of 2012–2016, and the arguments of 2016–2020, and the arguments of 2020–2024, and the arguments of 2024–2028, and the arguments of 2028–2032, and the arguments of 2032–2036, and the arguments of 2036–2040, and the arguments of 2040–2044, and the arguments of 2044–2048, and the arguments of 2048–2052, and the arguments of 2052–2056, and the arguments of 2056–2060, and the arguments of 2060–2064, and the arguments of 2064–2068, and the arguments of 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BOOKS

Responses to Dante

Dante and English Poetry
by Steve Ellis
Cambridge University Press, £20.00
ISBN 0 521 25126 5

Poets influenced by a precursor often, paradoxically, seek to refashion his distinctive vision in the image of their own preoccupations. This creative commonplace is vividly illustrated in the response of later poets to Dante, who has been adduced in support of causes quite alien to his own and even called into support of two conflicting ideologies.

In this fascinating study, Steve Ellis explores the heterogeneous influence of Dante on a range of poets of the last two centuries, from Shelley to T. S. Eliot. Dr Ellis's subject is not stylistic influence (already extensively chronicled) but something more subtle and ambitious: the ways in which Dante's political, religious and ethical thought, his character presentation and his relationship with Beatrice have informed the theory and practice of each poet discussed. Their interpretations are shown to have been tantalizingly divergent.

Modern readers are probably more familiar with Dante through his disseminated influence than through close reading of the *Vita Nuova* or *Divine Comedy*, so Dr Ellis's guidance into the intranslatable beauties of the poets' readings is intriguing. These readings are shown to have been partial or deliberately revisionary. Inconvenient aspects of Dante's philosophy were silently overlooked: Shelley had to ignore Dante's anti-republicanism (the monarchism of the *Commedia* contrasts severely with the egalitarianism of *Prometheus Unbound*), while Yeats and Pound had to secularize the *Commedia*.

Dr Ellis's argument is impressively cumulative and no abstract could do it justice (though if the book has a fault, it lies in its sheer density of reference). A gradual progression from a romantic to an anti-romantic response to Dante is revealed. The romantic critics, inspired by a sensationalized reading of the *Inferno*, posited a Byronic Dante, whose nobly despairing persona was interposed between them and the work. Shelley, whose ideas are often

unipathetic to Dante's, was prominent in admiring the spirit rather than the substance of Dante. The image of Dante as Promethean hero was superseded in the 1830s by a new focus of interest: Beatrice, assiduously celebrated in poetry and painting by Rossetti. A more intriguing response to Dante is found in Yeats, whose serious ignorance of Dante's work in detail is frankly acknowledged. In Dante he finds a vision of Evil which feeds into his own conception of the poem as an archetypal spiritual struggle and contrasts with Shelley's and Wordsworth's concentration upon Good, which renders them superficial to Yeats.

The most radical anti-romantic impulses are found in Pound and Eliot, both of whom claimed Dante as a major influence. Pound called the *Commedia* "but footnotes to the *Commedia*" and his reading of Dante and other early Italian poets helped him on his way towards imagism. Both Pound and Eliot approve the impersonalism of Dante's technique. For Eliot it perfectly exemplifies his view of poetry as "an escape from emotion". This yields Eliot's unusual, and determinedly anti-Rossettian, admiration of the *Vita Nuova* for its exposition of Dante's strenuous suppression of his personal animal feelings for Beatrice.

So different are the various poets' conceptions of Dante, Dr Ellis concludes, that none has held in balance the secular Dante's concern for the ordering of earthly society and the Catholic Dante's visions of eternity: Shelley and Pound allow the former to eclipse the latter while Browning and Eliot do the reverse. The real differences between Dante and his followers must be acknowledged. Pound's latter *Cantos* or Eliot's *Four Quartets* are not, as sometimes alleged, later *Paradises*, nor is Rossetti's "The House of Life" a nineteenth-century *Vita Nuova*. It is a measure of the diversity of Dante's achievement that they could be thought so, and of Dr Ellis's expository skills that readers of this book may now not only know why such claims are made but also understand the extent to which they are ill-founded.

Richard H. Taylor

Dr Taylor is director of Schlüter International University (London campus).

Riehard Ellmann's book *The Identity of Yeats* was first published in 1954 and was revised ten years later. It presents Yeats as a symbolist poet and argues that he retained the same poetic identity throughout his career. The 1964 edition is now issued as a paperback by Faber at £3.95.



David Jones

Power in parts

David Jones: mythmaker
by Elizabeth Ward
Manchester University Press, £23.50
ISBN 0 7190 0955 3

Writers on David Jones have tended to praise rather than bury him. While no iconoclast, Elizabeth Ward is more guarded in her attitude. At the end of this new study she allows that David Jones is "an original and sometimes profound contributor" to that stream of modern western literature exemplified by Pound, Eliot and Wyndham Lewis, yet is "of a firmly restricted significance" too, partly for ideological reasons but more importantly through "the peculiarly deleterious effect of his convictions upon his creative imagination".

These convictions entailed both Catholicism and a moderate leaning toward fascism in the 1930s. But the real difficulty for Elizabeth Ward lies in a rift or rupture between Jones's Roman Catholic ideology and his style. As with Pound and Eliot the ideology is traditional, and the style innovative and fragmentary. But in Jones's case the matter is compounded, by the poet's tenuous hold on history's real details. Its teeming references are from myth, legend and liturgy and thus

Aspects of the short story

The Short Story: a critical introduction
by Valerie Shaw
Longman, £5.95
ISBN 0 582 48687 4

The defining characteristic of the short story is that it is not long. What more? We might say that it is compressed, but that would involve the unacceptable assumption that novels are diffuse. Or that it deals with a brief incident, or is more concerned with character - or mood - than plot, but counter instances are easy to find. Valerie Shaw threads her way shrewdly through such obstacles to saying anything definite about the short story. She supports her propositions with careful analytic retelling of stories and is continuously interesting and readable.

The main part of the book considers aspects of narrative - point of view, characterization, setting - evaluating their potential through a wide range of examples. This effects an interesting reorientation of the literary canon: Somerset Maugham presses forward alongside James, Katherine Mansfield alongside Joyce. There are many American examples. Most readers will find some favourites and some stimulus to read further: many will have absences to query (Angus Wilson, science fiction).

The main perspective is traditional: there is no use of Barthes, Todorov, Genette, Lacan, Macherey - though short stories by Poe, Balzac, Conan Doyle and Borges have featured in the arguments of such theorists. Of course, many readers will not be disappointed by this, and Valerie Shaw's good sense and careful discriminations make her book a good instance of its chosen method. But one might hope that "new" theory would now be percolating through the academic system, to the point where relevant aspects could be drawn upon without banner-waving or outrage.

My initial question, about the terms in which the short story is to be analysed, remains unsettling. Valerie Shaw evaluates issues like whether a crucial revelation should be kept for the last page, whether there should be an overt purpose, with imprecise absolute terms like "interesting", "artistic" and "anti-style". In fact, her book has a hardly acknowledged split focus: it presents itself in the main as a study of the structural properties of a genre, historically, but most of the examples are drawn from the period between the mid-nineteenth century and the present. There are references to stories from other periods, but they stick out awkwardly. It would be better to handle the issue frankly: to nominate as short stories the writings which date from the self-consciousness of the genre and call earlier work something else, like "brief fiction". Then one might explicitly historicize concepts and criteria as products of the genre at its development.

A proffered defence of Chekhov slides into this generalization: "The short story's wisdom, when it claims to have any at all, consists largely of accepting monotony, limitation, and compromise" (page 209). This is not true of many medieval and renaissance fabliau-type stories, which imply if one can have a rewarding time if one seizes unconventional opportunities; it is true of a particular modern attitude. Valerie Shaw knows this, and offers suggestive comments on aspects of social history, publishing conditions, analogies with the visual arts, and the impact of modernism. But they could have been pushed further if she had made a virtue of the time span which, at the moment, appears as something of a limitation. The persuasive marks about frontiers in the narrative might then have been developed in relation to the imperiousness of the short story's theme of so many stories and work from the 1940s (Elizabeth Bowen's, for instance) might have been related to the special conditions of that period (shortage of paper as well as wartime insecurity). Surely all genre identifications will lack substance unless they are located in particular historical conditions.

This study of an obscure and elliptical body of work is, ironically, a model of both system and thoroughness. Its five long chapters deal with the life, the three central poems and the prose writings in that order. It is clear-headed, keeps its eye closely on its subject, and is equipped with a wide range of necessary resources and critical allusions of its own. One thing, perhaps, is missing: a close examination of that strange, gentle voice, the odd burr of the rural carpenter or even fisherman, 'opulent' with its careful tools and words and craftsmanship. That voice survives the very obscurity that critics of Jones both hostile and adulatory have noted.

J. P. Ward

Dr Ward is lecturing in education at the University of Wales, Swansea.

BOOKS

Reluctant laureates

The Legacy of Alfred Nobel: the story behind the Nobel prizes
by Ragnar Sohlman
Bodley Head, £8.95
ISBN 0 370 30990 1
The Nobel Prize
by Peter Wilhelm
Springer Books, £12.95
ISBN 0 919 0525 7

According to the Duke of Edinburgh, "a university should measure its success just as much by the number of millionaires as the number of Nobel prize winners it produces". The story of Nobel and his prizes is all about the problems of success. But while no university claims the millionaire arms manufacturer Alfred Nobel as its product, every Nobel prize winner does so: some glory on his or her parent's shoulders. The striking contrast between Nobel and his will's beneficiaries haunts all subsequent accounts of the origin and administration of the prize system. These two books are no exception. Neither manages to gloss over that embarrassing comparison of wealth and material reward.

Ragnar Sohlman was Nobel's private secretary at the end of his employer's life, then became in turn administrator of the will managing director of Nobel's arms firm, Bolens & Co., and, from 1936, director of the Nobel Foundation. He died in 1948, the year after this memoir was published. Newly translated into English to mark the 150th anniversary of Nobel's birth, the book is often refreshingly naive: it covers the period of mental and physical depression when Nobel's will was being drafted and the bitter dispute with the Nobel family from which Sohlman and the prize system emerged triumphant. Sohlman emerges as a devoted biographer, the "vear of the soul". In Nobel's phrase, for whom the trust was sacred.

Peter Wilhelm, on the other hand, marks the anniversary with a glossy coffee table volume, laced with pretty photographs of imposing edifices such as the Bank of Sweden (founder of the new Nobel prize in economics), the palaces of central Stockholm, and Nobel's villa in Paris. His most horrifying picture is that of the chemistry laureate Knut Fekke and his wife, captured in a hotel bedroom at six in the morning by a group of Swedish revellers. Says Wilhelm: "Who can really describe what it feels like to be woken up at 6 a.m. by people dressed in white standing beside your bed singing songs?"

The book is relentlessly upbeat: the prize system and its associated ceremonial is documented in detail and a useful list of prizewinners in all six fields (physics, chemistry, physiology and medicine, literature, peace and economics) is provided. There is also a brief laudatory introduction on Nobel's career. Many details fascinate, notably the formal account of the awards by which prizewinners are chosen. Here some cracks do appear in the confident fabric of the carefully constructed network of selection and negotiation. Not until full details of these decisions are released, however, will sociologists or historians have access to the workings of the most celebrated reward system in science and culture. Although Wilhelm's book is damaged by a somewhat uneven translation, both it and Sohlman's offer a limited opportunity for a reassessment of the prize system and its impact.

Two themes emerge as particularly revealing: Nobel's own motives in the establishment of the prizes, and the response of the scientific community to the self-conscious construction of what the American sociologist Harriet Zuckerman has called an "ultra-elite" (*Scientific Elite: Nobel laureates in the United States*, 1977). Nobel's own case was amazing: Wilhelm argues that Nobel would have been happy to be better known as a patron of science and peace than as arms manufacturer, chemical engineer, and inventor of dynamite. The trusts that he established included the direct precursors of the Nobel Peace Prize, the Nobel Prize in Literature, the Nobel Prize in Chemistry, and the Nobel Prize in Physics. He also established the Nobel Prize in Medicine and the Nobel Prize in Literature.



Alfred Nobel in his laboratory, an oil painting finished by E. Osterman after Nobel's death in 1896. Taken from *The Nobel Prize* by Peter Wilhelm.

In pre-revolutionary Russia; and the Bolshoi muniton works, founded in 1894, provided the core of one of the dominant military firms of this century. But the research which generated Nobel's patents proved costly. His youngest brother and four other people were killed during an early test, while in the 1880s and 1890s psychosomatic collapse, brought on by patent disputes, labour troubles, and the ever-present threats of romantic attachment, began to take its toll of Nobel himself - the will drafted in this period, reprinted in Sohlman's book, testifying to his sense of strain. Nobel insisted on precautions against being buried alive, including the injection of explosive ethyl nitrate into his corpse's veins.

Sohlman's account is graphic in documenting Nobel's relations with the other sex, notably with the young Viennese Jew, Sophie Hess, for whom his feelings were only rarely those of a kindly uncle. Even more revealing, Sohlman says a great deal about Bertha Kinsky, who replied to Nobel's advertisement for a secretary in 1876. Kinsky had left Vienna after an unfortunate entanglement with the young Count von Suttner in a family for whom she acted as governess, and kept in touch with Nobel for the rest of his life. Bertha's tracts on international peace influenced Nobel quite deeply, and led directly to his establishment of the peace prize. He considered that the other rewards derived from that one. Initially, in fact, he supposed that only six quinquennial peace prizes would be necessary, since if peace had not been reached in thirty years "we shall inevitably revert to barbarism".

The theme of science and culture as a barrier against barbarism is a powerful one in Wilhelm's account - the art deco festivities of the Nobel festival, the royal patronage of the event, and the enormous sum of money devoted to the prize. He considered that the other rewards derived from that one. Initially, in fact, he supposed that only six quinquennial peace prizes would be necessary, since if peace had not been reached in thirty years "we shall inevitably revert to barbarism".

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Insular enterprise

The Revolution in Science, 1500-1750
(second edition)
by A. Rupert Hall
Longman, £8.95
ISBN 0 582 49133 9

When first published in 1954, this work provided a valuable synthesis of studies of early-modern science, inspired by a new vision of the birth of modern science. It traced the course of change from the attack on tradition in astronomy and mechanics in the consolidation of "the principle of Newton". It surveyed developments in biology and chemistry, and examined the organization of science and the role of technical factors.

The revised edition is presented as virtually "a new book", with a "broadened vision of history". How far does it answer the doubts which have inevitably been raised during the intervening thirty years about some of its basic assumptions? Hall had rejected the arguments of Marxist and sociological "externalists" who linked the origins of modern science to the birth of capitalism or to the ethos of Calvinist Puritanism. He rightly pointed to the misleading conception of science to which "externalists" were usually wedded, making it almost indistinguishable from technology. Once science was viewed as an essentially conceptual enterprise, Hall believed its development would come to be seen as autonomous, its insulation from the surrounding environment being as complete as that of, say, philosophy.

But to conceive the history of science as intellectual history, it has been pointed out, is not the same as asserting its insulation from influences originating in the social or economic environment. Since those influences would make themselves felt as ideas, their significance is always a matter for historical investigation, not something to be decided in advance. Moreover, determining what counted as internal or external for the historical "actor" is a difficult problem, most troublesome

when dealing with some of the most innovative of the early-modern men of science - not merely a Paracelsus, but equally a Kepler or a Newton. Certainly, it would be absurd to read back our current distinctions on to the embryonic and rapidly changing science and culture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In a difficult and curious chapter on "The Problem of Cause", Professor Hall notices some of these problems, only to urge the old distinctions with a dogmatic insistence. External influences, he asserts, cannot have been significant, since they could not have been decisive in alienating from the old or shaping novel ideas or explanation. Maintaining a rigidly "internalist" stance while postulating a radical break with tradition - no less than a revolution - has always taxed internalist ingenuity: a "return to Plato" raises more questions than it solves. Professor Hall acknowledges the weaknesses of that explanation and recognizes the ways in which Platonism was linked to natural magic (whose puzzling revival went almost unnoticed in the earlier version of the work). But he is left then only with the despairing conclusion that changes occur "gradually and 'inadvertently', without conscious intent or design".

As with the original version, one may admire the erudition, the vast range of historical material that has skillfully been organized, and the many challenging problems raised. But what had once seemed to reflect a new spirit in the historiography of science (in contrast to the positivistic narratives it replaced) now seems blinkered and constricting. By reading back current conceptions of the distinction between internal and external, scientific and technological, rational and superstitious into the early-modern period, it stops us from asking novel questions, looking in new directions, and making fuller use of other cultural resources - the work of historians of early-modern society, economy, art, religion, and, more generally of ideas - in explaining so much that still challenges our understanding of the birth of modern science.

P. M. Rattansi

P. M. Rattansi is professor of the history and philosophy of science at University College, London.

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BOOKS

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ISBN 0 273 01684 9

All spectroscopy is a study of the absorption or emission of radiation over an energy range. The first form of spectroscopy was the study of colour but gradually scientists realized that there was an infinite range of spectroscopies from very high (infrared) energy, particle physics, spectroscopies down to virtually zero-energy spectroscopies. All this vast range covers the "colours" man cannot see. Moreover, spectroscopy could be studied with all kinds of sources of radiation, all kinds of detectors and in all sorts of electric, magnetic and gravitational fields; and the radiation could also be differently pulsed and polarized. In addition to his eyes, man now has a huge variety of new detectors - instruments of vision.

Nuclear magnetic resonance (NMR) spectroscopy is the study of very small energy uptakes by nuclei in magnetic fields. It is one of the most sophisticated forms of spectroscopy and is now requiring extremely expensive equipment (hundreds of thousands of pounds), including magnets, spectrometers, and computerized programming and interpreting. Dr Harris's book is a beautifully produced account of this spectroscopy - beautiful partly because the diagrams are so pleasingly done and partly because of the exposition and the obvious care which the author has taken in explaining both the principles and the equations. Although the book is well produced, it is not one for anyone who does not intend to practice this form of spectroscopy. It is also not an easy read.

If NMR spectroscopy is so difficult to understand and so costly to use, why then is it worthwhile? As Harris explains, scientists wish to characterize molecules in as many ways as they can. The purpose is to understand chemistry. It so happens that by moving to spectroscopies of lower and lower energy the information obtained becomes more and more detailed. While it was customary to report the colour and melting point of new compounds in 1900, today every chemist must characterize a new compound by its NMR spectrum. The technique reveals not just details of composition but of stereochemistry and even of motion within the molecule. The stereo-

chemical properties in particular are leading to a systematic development of the understanding of what molecules are like and in many cases how they might be expected to behave. The technique is applicable to many types of atoms (nuclei) in gas, liquid and solid states. NMR spectroscopy has become the chemist's best research tool. In any chemistry research laboratory at least some of the workers must know what is in Dr Harris's book. They should read it.

Compared with the treatment of small molecules, however, there are many topics the book does not cover, some of which might have appealed to the more general reader. NMR scanners are being introduced into hospitals and will assist X-ray imaging. NMR is being used to study intact plants and animals. It is providing much new detail about very large molecules such as proteins, DNA and RNA; and it is quickly becoming a vital technique for every biochemist as well as every chemist.

Dr Harris has produced a very good book for those who want to know how to think about NMR in detail. Another book is required for those who want to know the scope of its applications.

R. J. P. Williams

R. J. P. Williams is Royal Society Naylor Research Professor of Inorganic Chemistry at the University of Oxford.

Key reactions

Photosynthesis
edited by Gwynedee
Volume one: Energy Conversion by Plants and Bacteria
Academic Press, £52.00
ISBN 0 12 294301 5

Volume two: Development, Carbon Metabolism and Plant Productivity
Academic Press, £39.00
ISBN 0 12 294302 3

C₃, C₄ mechanisms, and cellular and environmental regulation of photosynthesis
by G. Edwards and D. A. Walker
Blackwell Scientific, £32.00
ISBN 0 632 00757 5

We all know that photosynthesis is the secret of life and that it catalyzes the two most important reactions in life - the splitting of water to evolve oxygen as a byproduct and the fixation of carbon dioxide to the organic compounds which provide directly or indirectly all our food and nearly all our fuel. Present photosynthesis provides about 15 per cent of the world's energy today as biomass, while past photo-

synthesis provides about 80 per cent as oil, coal and gas. Also, the state of the biosphere, which is totally dependent on the process of photosynthesis recycling the world's carbon dioxide, oxygen and water, could be seriously affected by the rapid deforestation of the tropics - where forests are disappearing at the current annual rate of about 0.6 per cent.

With so much at stake it is perplexing that all the research and writing which goes into work on photosynthesis has yet to "solve" the primary mechanisms of its two key reactions. Even if we were to decipher their mechanisms, would this be of use in improving the productivity of plants for increased yields of food or for tinkering them to allow the construction of artificial photosynthetic systems for practical ends, such as producing hydrogen gas, ammonia and organic compounds? These two books go about answering these and other questions in entirely different ways and each has outstanding merits.

The multi-author volumes edited by Govindjee start from the premise that "a basic understanding of photosynthesis is needed before we can use it" and ends with the hope that this book will be read by scientific administrators and research planners who sit in judgment on national priorities and on the future of biology. The book by Edwards and Walker on the other hand is a "textbook written from our personal point of view" and is aimed at university students and graduates at all levels.

Broadly the aims of both books are adequately met. Volume one of *Photosynthesis* deals with energy conversion by plants and bacteria, and emphasizes the biochemical and biophysical aspects. What is particularly pleasing is that photosynthesis is not taken only to mean plants but encompasses the all-important photosynthetic properties of bacteria and algae - which so often provide the basis for extrapolating to plant-type photosynthesis. The fact that authors who specialize in bacteria and plants have been twinned to write a single chapter is an excellent approach to providing the broader view - whether it is for structure or for function. Volume two covers a wide range of topics from molecular biology through development and carbon fixation to photosynthetic productivity and the role of photosynthesis in providing food and fuel.

In each volume there are also a couple of more specialized chapters which reflect the editor's and his laboratory's special interests. This is fair enough as a personal choice, but it does mean that some topics are omitted - such as sulphur and nitrogen metabolism. Volume two, however, has some excellent chapters on photosynthesis in whole plants, aspects of productivity and the role of the environment. Such topics have often been neglected and/or misunderstood by many researchers working in basic photosynthesis, but there is greatly increased interest now that such people have become aware of the practical problems. These chapters can be recommended to the uninitiated as well-written summaries of the state of the art in 1981 when they were written.

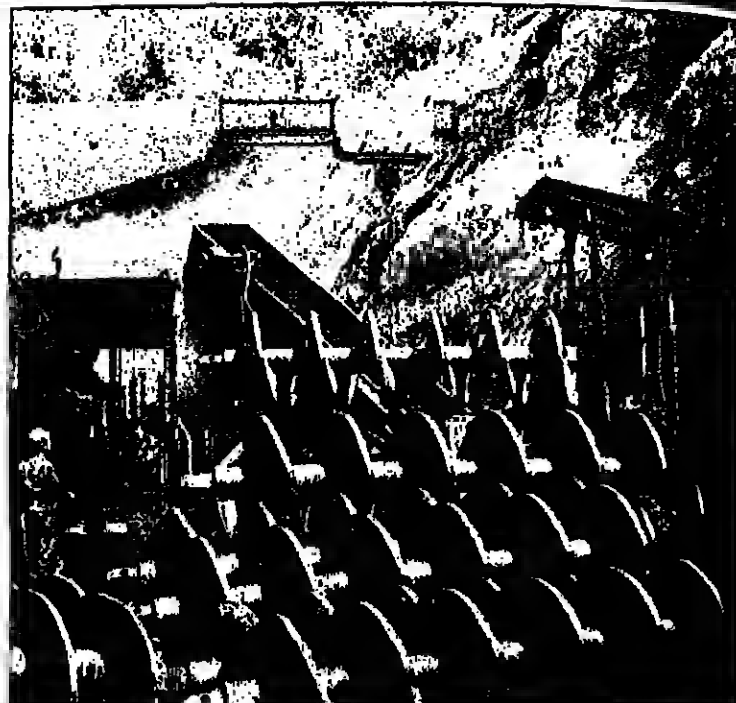
The strength of the two volumes lies in the choice of contributors who are uniformly of high quality. Each chapter also has a useful summary. Plants fix carbon dioxide into organic compounds by way of three main types of pathway. The three-carbon pathway - the well established route, elucidated by Calvin and associates in the 1940s and 1950s - occurs mainly in temperate species of plants such as wheat and spinach, the first identifiable product of the fixation process being a three-carbon sugar. The four-carbon pathway, discovered less than 20 years ago, occurs mainly in warm climate grasses and in maize and sugarcane. Here two types of chloroplasts (compared with only one in the three-carbon process) collaborate to produce. Initially a four-carbon acid before further metabolism proceeds. Four-carbon photosynthesis is usually a much more efficient process both for carbon dioxide fixation and water use.

The third type of pathway involves crassulacean acid metabolism (CAM) and occurs mainly in succulent plants, which fix carbon dioxide to organic acids at night, when their leaf stomata are open. During the day, when their stomata are deliberately closed, light energy is used to transform the acids to sugars. Since water loss occurs via transpiration through stomata, this is a very sensible mechanism for allowing plants to grow in arid environments. If we could better understand how all these pathways work, we might be able to manipulate them to perform one or other of these three types of photosynthesis. Thus, we could develop crops tailor-made to suit various environments, especially those in which water deficiencies and temperature extremes limit plant productivity.

A better subtitle to Edwards and Walker's book on three-carbon, four-carbon and CAM photosynthesis might have been "everything you wanted to know about carbon metabolism and were afraid to ask": history, physicochemical principles, experimental material, data, interpretation, and general conclusions. Although the book deals very little with "environmental regulation", the discussion of "cellular regulation" is without equal. Experimental evidence is presented in considerable detail, with nearly one graph, electron micrograph or table per page or two in the relevant sections. Although this may at first glance seem excessive, the many diagrams and explanations of the data should be very useful for students and teachers alike.

An added bonus to the book is that it has an introductory section of about a hundred pages describing the basic principles of photosynthetic reactions and the photosynthetic apparatus in plants. There is also a very good description of light measurement, the importance of its clear understanding and its relevance to plants and efficient calculations. A useful appendix on the techniques of growing experimental plants and the isolation of chloroplasts (and protoplasts) is included.

The breadth and depth of these two books should make them essential reading for the very wide range of people who now call "photosynthesis" their field.



Cutting heads of an auger-mining machine boring into a coal seam that has been exposed by contour strip mining. Coal is drawn out as the auger revolves and is loaded on to trucks by conveyor belt. Taken from *Environmental Geology: text and readings*, edited by Ronald W. Tank and published by Oxford University Press at £9.95. The book is a substantial revision of the reader edited by Professor Tank and published as *Focus on Environmental Geology* in 1973 and 1976.

might be able to manipulate them to perform one or other of these three types of photosynthesis. Thus, we could develop crops tailor-made to suit various environments, especially those in which water deficiencies and temperature extremes limit plant productivity.

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D. O. Hall

D. O. Hall is professor of biology at King's College, London.

Particle play

Introduction to High-Energy Physics
(second edition)
by Donald H. Perkins
Addison-Wesley, £10.50
ISBN 0 201 05757 3

There have been many revolutionary developments in high-energy physics since the first edition of this book appeared in 1972. Already by 1970 more than a hundred unstable subatomic particles, known as hadrons, had been discovered. The regularities observed in the properties of these hadrons suggested a substructure consisting of three fractionally charged constituents known as quarks.

Experiments at the Stanford Linear Accelerator in California had just provided evidence for the existence of pointlike constituents - the quarks - inside the proton, in an analogous fashion to which Rutherford had shown the existence of a massive nucleus within the atom nearly sixty years earlier. However, as frequent with a fractional charge had never been seen, despite many attempts to isolate one, the quark model of hadrons was treated with some scepticism. Thus, in the first edition, Perkins had stated that "hadronic matter behaves as if it were composed of elementary (quark and antiquark) constituents". Quarks were not even mentioned in the first half of the book.

The discovery of the new metastable J/ψ particle in November 1974, and subsequently of its partners, finally convinced the high-energy physics community of the reality of quarks. These elementary states of matter bear a striking resemblance (apart from the overall mass scale) to positronium - the bound state of an electron and a positron (antielectron). As Perkins emphasizes, it is natural to interpret these new states as bound states of a new heavy type of quark and its antiquark.

At the same time, the quark model had been made theoretically respectable by a theory of strong interaction between quarks, which could explain their confinement, which could explain their non-existence as free particles. Some particles, such as the electron and neutrino, do not experience this strong interaction and are called leptons; and these, together with the quarks, experience the electromagnetic force and the weak force responsible for radioactivity. The six types (for flavour) of quark end of lepton, which have been postulated, are now thought to be the fundamental constituents of matter.

Perkins has substantially rewritten his book to adopt the modern quark view: quarks are now introduced on page one. He has also incorporated a discussion of the experimental evidence, obtained during the past decade, confirming a unified theory - advanced by Steven Weinberg, Abdus Salam and Sheldon Glashow - of electromagnetic and weak interactions. The many successes of this theory culminated in the announcement earlier this year of the discovery at the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN) in Geneva of the heavy W and Z particles predicted to mediate the weak interactions. This result, however, was too late for incorporation in Perkins's book.

In its enlarged, revised and completely reset form, this book is still the best advanced undergraduate text available. Its only drawback lies in its wealth of material covered in its 400 pages. A text taking the same informal and empirical approach but carefully pruned to about 200 pages would be ideal.

C. D. Froggatt

C. D. Froggatt is lecturer in the department of natural philosophy at the University of Glasgow, Scotland. He is a member of the Royal Society.

BOOKS

POLITICS

Analysing the enemy

The Making of the Second Cold War
by Fred Halliday
Verso and New Left Books, £18.50 and £4.95
ISBN 0 86091 053 9 and 752 5
The Grand Strategy of the Soviet Union
by Edward N. Luttwak
Weidenfeld & Nicolson, £12.95
ISBN 0 297 78217 7

Fred Halliday and Edward Luttwak are two students of international affairs of exceptional talent who happen to occupy opposing ends of the political spectrum. Both have written confident and compelling accounts of what Halliday aptly describes as the onset of Cold War II, and how it might turn into Hot War III. Taken together they offer a rare opportunity to consider the analytic presumptions of both sides and doves concerning the origins and likely course of the current crisis.

Of the two, Halliday's book is the most substantial. He provides an overview of the deterioration of East-West relations, displaying a remarkable breadth of knowledge, as he moves nimbly from the rise of the right in the United States to the discrediting of socialism and the traumas of the Third World. He argues the necessity, in coming to terms with the reality of power, of the two superpowers rather than simply pointing to the inequalities of the arms race. The Soviet Union must share some of the blame for the collapse of détente, but the main blame is still assigned to the United States.

Halliday charts the growth of the right's influence, the attempt to restructure America's economic and political strength through rearmament and the associated virtual exaggeration of small arms and a few lesser items when a quick glance at figures for combat aircraft shows that to be nonsense. To bolster his assertions half of the book is passed over to two long surveys: on Soviet economic power, by Herbert Block and the other, by W. Seth Carus on the evolution of Soviet military power.

Yet if Luttwak is somewhat cavalier

familiar "crises" in a completely new light.

In the many references to the literature of the New Left, the contemptuous tones with which the activities and aspirations of non-socialists are discussed and the severity of the critique of the United States, there is no doubting Halliday's political leanings. Yet a striking feature of the book is the challenge it represents to many of the illusions and misapprehensions that have characterized the left over the past few decades. He demolishes any lingering faith in Soviet leadership, is scathing about China's pretensions as an alternative fount of wisdom, and permits few apologies for the repressiveness and economic mismanagement that have marked the performance of the old liberation movements following the seizure of power.

This is in the end a socialist book without socialist heroes or socialist optimism. Perhaps David Edgar will adapt it for the stage. Halliday has no model for the future. All that he can offer for an uplifting finale is the hope that something good might come out of the peace movement. But the notion of a socialist non-nuclear West European "third force" is offered without conviction. It does not flow directly out of the analysis nor is it bolstered with much argument. It is only slightly more plausible than the hopes of the "class of '68", with their Guevarist affects - the delusory nature of which Halliday now sees all too clearly.

Luttwak concentrates on the Soviet Union, developing a thesis that inner social and economic weakness and great military power are combining in a dangerously explosive mixture. The recent American rearmament and assertiveness, which he happily acknowledges with overtones of "about time too", are portrayed as no more than a necessary corrective to that of the Soviet Union.

Luttwak relies more on assertion than evidence. By what criteria for example is the Soviet Union now the "largest empire the world has ever known" and how can he state that the "total stock of Soviet military equipment has grown to the point where it exceeds in quantity the combined inventories of the United States, the rest of NATO and the People's Republic of China in every category of armaments except for nuclear weapons, small arms and a few lesser items" when a quick glance at figures for combat aircraft shows that to be nonsense. To bolster his assertions half of the book is passed over to two long surveys: on Soviet economic power, by Herbert Block and the other, by W. Seth Carus on the evolution of Soviet military power.

Yet if Luttwak is somewhat cavalier

in his use of evidence, and allows stylistic flourishes to get the better of him, the analysis is nevertheless forceful and provocative and even convincing up to a point. He describes a Soviet Union in deep trouble with the only remedies ruled out of order because they threaten the very essence of the system. The attempt to hold together a multi-national empire centred on Russia through a trans-national creed has failed and the cement is now only the assertion of military power.

But the assertion of power has alarmed the neighbours and led to encirclement by hostile powers and American rearmament. To relieve the pressure, Soviet power pushes out. Thus the Soviet Union will be forced to expand its domain. Afghanistan is the prize exhibit. As the problems are now coming to a head so a stunning military victory is required. Luttwak thinks China is the next most likely victim: the underpopulated and strategically vital province of Xinjiang the most likely objective.

Luttwak describes the origins of the dilemma for the Soviet Union quite brilliantly. However the picture has been drawn so sharply and dramatically that the result has been to heighten the sense of immediate crisis. It may be that the Soviet leadership can muddle through for some time to come without having to take drastic action.

In policy terms Luttwak advises only that the West sustain sufficient power to deter the Soviet Union from reckless action. There is no point in a more positive approach because the sources of the Soviet inclination to war are essentially internal - a result of regime pessimism. Luttwak exaggerates the difficulty of the West preserving a deterrent in the nuclear age.

In exaggerating the extent of both Soviet desperation and of Soviet might, Luttwak serves to illustrate the very tendencies in US strategy to which Halliday draws attention. Halliday's own analysis of these tendencies in the United States indicates their influence but not their inevitability. It remains to be seen whether the US electorate will reverse the tendency towards a confrontationalist foreign policy this time next year. A return to the policy of détente, or even just serious East-West dialogue, will alarm Luttwak and be of only moderate comfort to Halliday (it would certainly undermine his push for a more independent Western Europe). For those of us unconvinced by either of these approaches, for the moment, it may be the best that we can hope for.

Lawrence Freedman

Lawrence Freedman is professor of war studies at King's College London.

POLITICS TITLES FROM METHUEN

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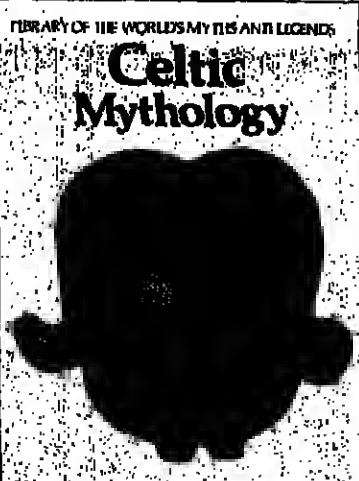
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NEWNES BOOKS



BOOKS

POLITICS

Local party politics

The Reselection of MPs
by Alison Young
Heinemann Educational, £6.50
ISBN 0 435 8371 5

National Parties and Local Politics
by John Gifford and Mark James
Allen & Unwin, £18.00
ISBN 0 04 352 106 1

The thesis these two books challenge is that the British political system is "top down" in the distribution of authority. According to this model power is centralized in Whitehall and Cabinet; Parliament is the supreme law-maker; and local authorities are clearly subordinate; and two major parties are national, unitary and centralized. From the political right, Hall's charge of "elective dictatorship" joins with Tony Benn's allegations about the "power elite".

The books also deal with two important political developments of the 1980s. One is the demand for greater accountability of MPs to constituency parties and for the latter to have a more influential voice in Westminster politics, particularly the selection of party leaders and content of party policy. This pressure has been most obviously felt in the Labour Party but is also present in the SDP and Liberal parties. The second is the growing tension between central and local

government. Governments of both parties have tried to curb alleged local over-spending and force compliance with central government policies. Conservatives, although wedded to less government and to decentralization, have been the most interventionist in controlling spending. This has culminated in the drastic step of the government proposing to abolish the Greater London Council and the metropolitan authorities.

Constitutional control of nominations has long qualified the idea that British parties are centralized. Recent developments have also dated Austin Ranney's magisterial study of twenty years ago, *Pathways to Parliament*, and his conclusion that local party activists reinforced the cohesion of the parties in Parliament. Alison Young's study, notwithstanding its title, does not fill the gap which now exists in the literature. *The Reselection of MPs* contains ten brief chapters (which makes the use of the same quotation by David Butler three times excessive); these cover British ideas of political representation, pressures for constitutional change and for the local accountability of MPs, case studies of the local political troubles of Dick Taverne and Eddie Griffiths, and finally, the political issues raised by the pressures for mandatory reselection. Young shrewdly shows how the advocacy of independent MPs, and constituency control, gives rise to competing charges of elitism and extremism.

But the book's cursory treatment of several important themes limits its usefulness. It is neither a full treatment of the different strands in British political representation like Birch's *Representative and Responsible Government*, nor of one topic, like the Kogan's recent study of the left's struggle to reform the Labour Party. As a study of the process of reselection it is limited by its concentration on cases of spectacularly troubled relationships between MPs and their local parties and, as ever, by virtually ignoring parties other than Labour. Given the author's emphasis on the tensions

which arise from the different values of activists and voters, it is surprising that the conclusion seems to quote the two. There is little evidence that the reforms have so far strengthened links between local parties and the voters.

Gifford and James ask some interesting questions about the tensions between the centre and locality in government and Parliament and the constituencies in political parties, but some of the material is pretty dry - the analyses of the minutes of the parties' local government committees, for example. In spite of the pressures for centralization and control from the centre, the authors emphasize the elements making for *strangely* (bargaining and cooperation) between central and local government. Local government's possession of political legitimacy as well as various financial, informational and constitutional resources enables local party leaders to resist their own national party leaders when they choose. The authors' study of the different patterns of relationships (cooperation, detachment and antagonism) between local au-

thorities and government, also qualifies the "top down" model of British government.

Above all, the authors show the ambiguity and opportunism which characterizes the parties' thinking about the locality. The pro-decentralist Conservative government produced in Michael Heseltine a variable Cromwell, who in his early talk of municipal socialism, only taken seriously by W. A. Robson - has never been comfortable with territorial politics. Party leaders have regarded individuals as members of social classes rather than of communities and claimed that redistribution and social equality would be promoted by the decentralization of power (under Labour, of course). The local authority associations have also become politicized in the 1970s. The opposition party, when in control of the local authority associations, seemed to realize that local government was a good base from which to harry government of the day. Across all the parties one finds localists, but to date they have lost out

to individualists in the Conservative party (whose goals are to keep down the rules and spending) and localists and corporatists in Labour (promoting economic planning and income policies and bargaining with interests).

It is regrettable that the authors' original research proposal - to look at the central-local relationships of parties and government, by way of studying the contentious issues of comprehensive education and council house sales - was not adhered to. It was abandoned for a study of the structure and organization of the institutions and the issue of the relationship between them. They have written an essential background study on the subject. But it names and describes the parts rather than showing them in action. An even better study is struggling to get out

Dennis Kavanagh

Dennis Kavanagh is professor of politics at the University of Nottingham.

Comrades in crisis

The Bells of the Kremlin: an experience of Communism
by Arvo Tuominen
edited by Pihli Hekkanen
University Press of New England,
£17.50
ISBN 0 87451 249 2

Djilas: the progress of a revolutionary
by Stephen Clissold
Temple Smith, £15.00
ISBN 0 85117 236 9

What are the motives which impel people to join the Communist Party, why do they remain members and why do they leave? Such questions are raised by both these books.

The Bells of the Kremlin is taken directly from the autobiographical writings which Tuominen published after his return to Finland in 1956, supplemented by passages from recorded interviews. Stephen Clissold based his book mainly on the published works of Djilas which are readily available in English. I regret that Clissold did not follow Hekkanen's example in interviewing his subject, however his wide knowledge of Yugoslav affairs has enabled him to set the Djilas material in its historical context.

There is no mystery about why Tuominen and Djilas became communists. Both were born of working-class stock, in countries where poverty, oppression and injustice were the daily bread of the poor. Tuominen became active in the Finnish labour movement when he moved from his home village to the industrial town of Tampere, to follow his father's trade as a carpenter. He became disillusioned with the possibilities of achieving socialism by parliamentary means when the government of Oskari Tokoi - the world's first democratically elected socialist prime minister - was overthrown. Finland was then an autonomous Grand Duchy of the Tsarist Empire. It was a right-wing Finnish government which declared independence from Lenin's Russia, in December 1917, but its authority was disputed by the Social Democrats. A civil war ensued, which ended in the defeat of the Reds, whose leaders fled to Russia on May Day 1918, and a few months later formed the Finnish Communist Party.

While terror which reigned during 1918 convinced Tuominen that the hope for the Finnish workers was armed revolution, he visited Moscow in 1921, as a Finnish delegate to the Comintern congress, met Lenin, who was responsible for the nickname *Potkin* (Boy), which he carried to the end of his 87 years; and fell under the influence of that wily old Bolshevik, Otto Wille Kuusinen.

Tuominen became secretary general of the Finnish Communist Party, leader of the trade unions and a man wanted by the Finnish police. He served two terms of imprisonment, and in 1933 he went to Moscow to work with Kuusinen in the Comintern. They shared a flat in *Dom Pravdy* (House of Truth), and trembled as they saw the red seals affixed to their neighbours' doors indicating that the occupants had been arrested during the night. Radok, Kagan, Kamenyev, and other Bolsheviks were among them. They saw Kagan, Kamenyev, and other Bolsheviks were among them. They saw Kagan, Kamenyev, and other Bolsheviks were among them.

Tuominen became secretary general of the Finnish Communist Party, leader of the trade unions and a man wanted by the Finnish police. He served two terms of imprisonment, and in 1933 he went to Moscow to work with Kuusinen in the Comintern. They shared a flat in *Dom Pravdy* (House of Truth), and trembled as they saw the red seals affixed to their neighbours' doors indicating that the occupants had been arrested during the night. Radok, Kagan, Kamenyev, and other Bolsheviks were among them. They saw Kagan, Kamenyev, and other Bolsheviks were among them.

Tuominen and his wife were sent to Sweden in 1938, on a Party errand arranged by Kuusinen and Kollontai. In November 1939, a few weeks before the Soviet attack on Finland, Stalin ordered Tuominen back to lead the "People's" Government of Finland, in whose name the Red Army was about to march into Finnish Karelia. This was the moment of truth for Tuominen. After an agonizing struggle with his conscience, he rejected Stalin's offer and called on the Finnish communists to join the army and fight the aggressor, which many of them did. All these events are described in a matter of fact style reminiscent of C. A. Attlee.

Tuominen remained an active socialist, and to the end of his life he believed that, had Lenin lived, Soviet revolution would not have turned into the Stalinist nightmare.

Djilas, like Tuominen, became a communist at an early age. As a student in Belgrade during the 1930s he became involved in clandestine work for the party and suffered imprisonment. Just as Tuominen found his guiding star in the person of Kuusinen, so Djilas linked his destiny to that of Tito. In the year of Tito's death, Djilas wrote, "My life was linked to Tito's... Through Tito I discovered the essence of the politics... When the break came, Djilas suffered more from his estrangement from his hero than did Tuominen. Djilas's disillusionment came in two stages - first the break with Stalin in 1948, then with Tito six years later. Since then he has endured periods of imprisonment for his views, and has developed a political philosophy based on liberal democratic premises.

Both men, having served the party at the highest level during Stalin's heyday, and having observed at close quarters the way in which the system, were really pushed out by external events. In Tuominen's case it was the brutal choice of loyalty to his own people or to the Soviet Union, which Stalin crudely presented him with, by his offer of the premiership of the Terijoki government. Stalin's action in 1948 forced Djilas to choose between Tito and Stalin. In 1954 the party took action against him; he wavered; made a dubious self-criticism and finally decided to choose his conscience rather than obedience to the apparatus.

The question which neither of these books answers is whether either of them would have made the break without the externally-induced enforces. I suspect that Tuominen might not have done so, but that Djilas certainly would have. His rebellious intellect was already consciously distilling a dangerous heresy before the party moved against him.

Know that my views were bound to lead me into conflict with my comrades - men with whom I had burned away my youth and half my mature years in search of an ideal.

F. B. Singleton
F. B. Singleton is senior research fellow in the postgraduate school of Yugoslav studies at the University of Bradford.

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BOOKS

POLITICS

The Grand Old Party

The Republican Right since 1945
by David W. Reinhard
University Press of Kentucky, £25.00
ISBN 0 8131 1484 5

America's Republican right used to boast some colourful characters. William Jenner of Indiana regarded General Marshall as a "front man for traitors" and Barry Goldwater later proclaimed his own willingness to "follow the world to kindergarten" rather than "consign it to hell under Communism". In selecting Ronald Reagan as a presidential candidate, however, the Republican Party chose someone who, while firmly in the Goldwater tradition, could be packaged as a moderate.

With his politics appropriately tinted, Reagan gained control of the White House in 1980 and thereby ended the Republican right's thirty-year quest to find a standard-bearer who could win. During this period in the wilderness the conservative faction of the "Grand Old Party" (GOP) frequently indulged in self-destructive behaviour as it struggled for intra-party dominance. David Reinhard's book is an attempt to trace the continuities between the right's position in the immediate postwar years, through the heady days of Goldwater to its moment of triumph in 1980.

One problem which arises inevitably in any discussion of the Republican right is that of definition. Divisions in the GOP tend to be based on transient issues and personalities rather than on durable interests and philosophies. Reinhard emphasizes that the Republican right's factions were "less visceral but far more complex" than those of the Democrats who were torn apart by regional differences centred on race. Unfortunately, the very complexity of these divisions means that at times the author seems unsure both about his own definition of the Republican right and about the extent to which he



Barry Goldwater

should be writing a general history of Republican strategy since 1945.

Mr Reinhard's thesis that the majority of Republicans in the period 1945-1965 identified themselves as either liberal, moderate or conservative hardly contributes to a subtle understanding of Republican Party debates, for it fails to capture the outlook of that large group of Republicans - best epitomized by Robert Taft of Ohio - who combined conservative instincts with loyalty to the Republican Party as an institution. James Reichley in an earlier analysis of the Republican Party (*Conservatives in an Age of Change*) used the label "stalwarts" to describe this section of the party which, while it hated the New Deal and all its works and was isolationist in foreign policy, nevertheless recognized the need for pragmatism in American political life. Given the manner in which the Republican right has become more ideologically strident of late, such a category could have been used with profit by Mr Reinhard to distinguish the team-players of the right from the fundamentalists.

One aspect of Mr Reinhard's account which is helpful is the examination of factionalism in the GOP outside Congress. Although the treatment of state parties cannot be extensive in a work of this kind, it is

important to bear in mind the fact that Capitol Hill is not the whole of America. Reinhard underlines, for example, the extent to which Eisenhower neglected the state Republican parties and how his presidency failed to leave any lasting impression on the content of the Republican creed.

The disagreements over foreign policy are also well covered in the book - although Michael Miles presents a more detailed explanation in *The Odyssey of the American Right*. Reinhard shows how suspicion of Truman's Eurocentric foreign policy after 1945 blended with the genuine concern of many Republicans about Asia and especially the China question. Hostility to communism abroad and fear that it was rampant at home produced the emotional climate in which McCarthyism could flourish and gave the Republicans an issue with which to hit the Democrats. Surprisingly, what is missing from Reinhard's description is any extensive consideration of the way in which many of the attitudes on the right have persisted from the Great Debate of the early 1950s to the contemporary discussion about what should be the relationship between the United States and Europe.

Indeed all too often on this side of the Atlantic at least the argument seems to be conducted without any appreciation of just how strong neo-isolationist sentiment is in modern America. In this, as in much else, Goldwater's foreign policy preferences were instructive. The Arizona Senator, though more inclined than Taft, Wherry or other Old Guard Republicans to interventionism, shared with an earlier right-wing generation frustration with America's European allies and an inclination to "go it alone" on overseas policy.

Ultimately this is a book which contributes much to our understanding of the mood of the Republican right as it sought to define itself in relation both to the changes in American society wrought by the Roosevelt years and the war, and in relation to the GOP's moderate wing. It is altogether less successful in explaining either why its ideas should have been denied a hearing for so long or why in the 1970s and 80s they should have been resuscitated.

Gillian Peele

Gillian Peele is a fellow of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.

Part of a package

States and Societies
edited by David Held and other members of the State course team at the Open University
Martin Robertson, £19.50 and £5.95
ISBN 0 85520 658 6 and 695 4

Reviewing this book is rather like forming a judgment on the strength of just one end of a telephone conversation. It is a collection of excerpts from assorted political thinkers, divided into thematic sections each introduced by one of the editors; and, as to quote, "part of an integrated package of materials designed for students of the Open University course D 209". But which particular excerpts will be emphasized in that course, what emphases laid, I do not know: I do not have Course D 209. On the other hand this book is also offered to the general public, not just to those studying the social sciences and humanities but also to those who "have a general interest in the history of the state".

As a free-standing reader it has its attractions particularly in view of the prices. It ranges widely, offering extracts from the classical theorists in the first quarter of the book, and in the Louis Bonaparte, and sometimes it is by the sense of "society politically organized", a formulation which implies institutions other than just coercive ones for framing and executing public policies.

My other concern is with the balance of these excerpts. I acutely feel editors of bias in their introductory essays. They are duly critical of the way in which the state has been chosen to put it. We can leave aside the selection from the classic philosophers - these comes

science woods provocation in the mother of inspiration.

However, as a reader for an Open University course, this book has a privileged position: as a set text, or set of texts, it must exercise considerable influence. To the extent that this is true, I must own to reservations about it. To begin with I think it is more likely to confuse than to illuminate. In my experience it is much easier to teach all about political theories than to teach what these theories are all about and what they mean to my mind, falls into that trap.

For instance, that the notions of legitimacy and authority are central to discussions on the state is acknowledged, but the reasons why they are a preferred alternative to mere coercion are not explored. The issue has been made marvellously clear in de Jouvenal's "Power", or for that matter, Ferrero's work of the same name. Mosca's notion of "the political formula" or Pareto's concept of the "derivations of authority" are also great heuristic devices. They are not here.

Moreover some of the confusion imparted by this volume is due to the authors themselves. In the introductory essays that precede each batch of excerpts, it is not uncommon, indeed it is quite common to find them using the term "state" (the very object of the exercise) in two different senses. First, it is the marxist sense, of a coercive apparatus grounded on the state in the passage quoted on page 62, "the relatively independent state run in France by the Louis Bonaparte", and sometimes it is by the sense of "society politically organized", a formulation which implies institutions other than just coercive ones for framing and executing public policies.

My other concern is with the balance of these excerpts. I acutely feel editors of bias in their introductory essays. They are duly critical of the way in which the state has been chosen to put it. We can leave aside the selection from the classic philosophers - these comes

suggest themselves (although I must own that the publication of the French "Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen" of 1789 would have better expressed the concept of liberal-democracy than all the others put together).

As to the contemporaries who make up the remainder, I repeat that I acquit the joint editors of an unacademic bias. What I do charge them with is an unbalanced, indeed prudent, interest in one single train of thought. And since in such anthologies the inclusion of one author means the exclusion of another, whom might we have expected to hear from but not?

In the section entitled "Citizenship and the State", is John Rawls less considerable than a certain Dr Zaretsky? Is Sir Karl Popper's notion of the open society, or his concept of social engineering unworthy of a place beside, let us say, Niccolò Machiavelli? There has been a great and fruitful controversy over the nature of power between liberal-democratic pluralists like Dahl and Polsky and marxists like Lukes or Bachrach; but none of it finds a place here. In this last three quarters of the book (excepting the modern authors), I count 29 extracts. Four are unmistakably in the liberal-democratic tradition, and five in the marxist tradition. The remainder may fairly be described as marxist. It is not that I object as such to marxist voices, simply that I don't see why the bulk of this book has to be turned into a private gabbling-match between them.

I am bound to say it puts me in mind of what H. G. Wells said about the Fabians: "I thought they said, 'We thought it was the coming tide of Socialism. Coming tide! It was just a few Fabians piddling under a locked door'".

S. E. Finer

S. E. Finer, formerly Gladstone professor of politics at the University of Oxford, is working on a general history of government.

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POLITICS

Creating a stir

Political Man: the social bases of politics, expanded and updated edition by Seymour Martin Lipset

Heinemann Educational, £6.50

ISBN 0 435 82539 9

Political Science and Political Behaviour

by Dennis Kavanagh

Allen & Unwin, £15.00 and £5.95

ISBN 0 04 322008 8 and 322009 6

In the early 1960s, at the height of the reign of "pluralism" in the social sciences, when "ideology" was "in decline" and consensus theories were dominant, a book appeared which aimed at providing firm empirical support to the prevailing modes of thought.

More than Daniel Bell, Raymond Aron, and others were doing at the time, the author looked closely and comparatively at data on voting and attitudes in modern democracies. He found that liberal democracy was manifestly more successful among the richer countries, that workers were more authoritarian than much of the middle class, and that class was being slowly eroded as a basis of voting in all western countries. This, we were told, was to the good, as the stability of liberal democracies seemed closely related to a lowering of tension and as cross-cutting, not reinforcing cleavages led to better prospects for the

future of these regimes. The author was Seymour Martin Lipset, once a socialist and a writer on trade union organization; the work was *Political Man*. It created a stir and, in some quarters at least, was attacked as yet another example of the way the prevailing American ideology was seeking to influence mainstream social science through the use of surveys and other empirical data.

Twenty years on, the book has been republished, in *extenso* and without any changes, even in the footnotes, the only concession being the addition of two concluding chapters which seek to examine whether some interpretations need to be modified. To reprint in this way shows great courage, as much has changed in society and in social science that it risks no longer being in tune with the tastes of the day. Perhaps not surprisingly, the judgment must be mixed.

The empirical findings remain convincing, despite new evidence, as this has tended to confirm Lipset's predictions. More and more studies have shown that liberal democracy does indeed prevail mainly in rich countries, that authoritarianism is widespread, to say the least, among the working class, and that class is not even less than in the 1960s, a reliable guide to voting behaviour. In the early chapters, only the section on fascism is somewhat out of date as are some developments in the later sections on the United States.

Where the book is less convincing however is in the links it makes between these findings and the role of ideology in politics, as views about this role have changed frequently over the last thirty years. In the 1950s many of those who had earlier strongly believed in the need for ideology did become more "pragmatic". It became fashionable to claim that western democracies were moving away from ideology and that "ideologies" were prisoners of the past. To some extent at least *Political Man* makes this claim. But since the late 1960s the importance of ideology has been partly restored as modern industrial society has been viewed more critically and greater



Egyptian soldiers in Sinai during the Six Day War. The picture is taken from *The Middle East Conflicts from 1945 to the Present* edited by John Pimlott (Orbis, £7.95).

attention has been given to both old and new philosophies of society. Thus while the book justifies reprinting as it is a major testimony to the durable character of many empirical findings, it is a little *passé* when it ventures into the deeper bases of political life.

Professor Kavanagh's survey of *Political Science and Political Behaviour* is a balanced but sympathetic presentation of the "behavioural movement" in political science. Was it, or not, as R. A. Dahl said at the time when Lipset was writing *Political Man*, "a successful protest"? With, seemingly, a tinge of regret, Professor Kavanagh concludes that the success was large, but the overall goal was not achieved: the grand strategy of turning political study into a real "science" has simply not (at least yet) been realized; approaches and methodology are as diverse as in the past.

On the broad thesis, the author is correct: some claims were indeed vast and truly arrogant. But while the survey justly concentrates on the main

achievements - electoral studies, elite studies, studies on the performance of governments - it might also have shown that there were other fields where "behaviourism" has made some impact: works on legislatures and bureaucracies, to cite only two cases, have been influenced by the "movement" of the 1950s. Thus, if the high expectations of a full-blooded science have not come to be matched by the realizations of the past twenty years, the influence has spread, in a subdued and less aggressive manner, to other corners than the author suggests.

This survey of ideas, approaches and findings is one of great value: it should clearly interest all those who, beyond students, wish to know more about what has been after all, despite its limitations, one of the great movements in political science.

Jean Blondel

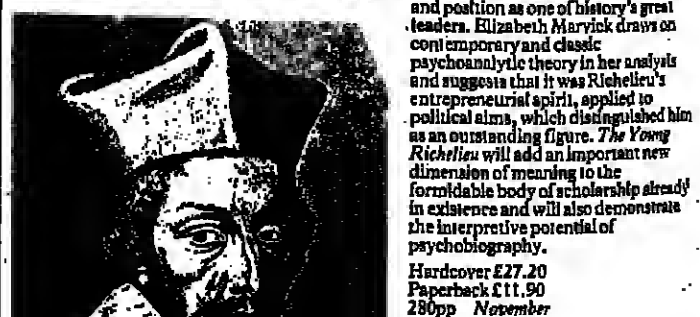
Jean Blondel is professor of government at the University of Essex.

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Looking back

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by Ferenc Fehér and Agoos Heller

Allen & Unwin, £15.00

ISBN 0 04 321031 7

Polish Communism in Crisis

by George Sanford

Croom Helm, £14.95

ISBN 0 7099 2358 9

Hungary and Poland are the only communist states in Eastern Europe to have experienced authentic revolutions.

The Hungarian revolution of 1956 was a national protest against Stalinism which swept into power a coalition government under Imre Nagy which had barely declared a new democratic and independent Hungary before being deposed by the Soviet army. In Poland 1956 saw Gomulka pre-empt Soviet intervention by uniting the nation around a programme of democratizing reforms that he gradually whittled away. Deteriorating relations between regime and society produced a series of working-class protests which culminated with the revolution of 1980-81. After sixteen months of power struggle between the regime and Solidarity, the revolution was suppressed by the Polish security and armed forces.

For many observers the occurrence of the Polish and Hungarian revolutions confirms the instability of communist states and their failure to undergo the fundamental change in radical politics which has taken place in Western Europe. Although very different, both these books take issue with such conventional interpretations and see the key to revolutionary events in political leadership rather than mass movements.

Ferenc Fehér and Agoos Heller lived through the Hungarian revolution and played a prominent role as critical intellectuals in Hungary until 1971; they now hold academic posts in Australia. Theirs is not an academic analysis of 1956 but an extended polemical essay written to show fellow "leftist socialist radicals" that the Hungarian revolution remains a source of lasting inspiration for all those concerned with democratic socialist reforms in communist states.

The first half of the book, dealing with the revolution and the world, adds little to previous accounts. The second part assesses the revolution in its domestic context. In seeking to counter views of the revolution as a violent "counter-revolution" and non-socialist movement, Fehér and Heller go too far the other way: they ascribe too much organizational and ideological coherence to what was a fragmented and ill-defined movement. Rather unconvincedly they play down the religious and traditional nationalist elements and highlight its socialist and democratic reformist thrust.

Fehér and Heller depict Nagy as closely in touch with popular revolutionary feeling while most of the evidence suggests his relative insulation from the masses. In a book that divides leaders into heroes and villains - Cardinal Mindszenty, Khrushchev and Kádár figure prominently among the latter - Nagy emerges as "the initiator and first martyr of Eurocommunism", an exaggerated claim even for a brave politician who made a valuable contribution to communist reformism.

In contrast to Fehér and Heller, George Sanford treats his case study of revolution in sober academic fashion. He avoids the tendency to over-dramatize the events of 1980-81 as a struggle between a democratic revolutionary movement and reactionary communist Party-military complexes in Warsaw and Moscow. Sanford contends that the outcome of 1980-81 was by no means preordained, thus avoiding the vision of hindsight - too widespread among western observers, that the suppression of Solidarity was predictable all along.

For Sanford the key political issues in 1980-81 were whether the Communist Party would produce leaders acceptable to both Polish

society and the Soviet Politburo, as in October 1956. To find out why this did not happen he concentrates on developments in the party elite and leadership, tracing in admirably accurate, if occasionally confusing detail the shifting alignments and factional struggles within the party elite. If any heroes emerge from this hard-headed account, it is the contrast-pragmatist group headed by Stanislaw Kania (First Secretary of the communist party from September 1980 to October 1981) and Mieczyslaw Rakowski (deputy prime minister, formerly editor of the progressive weekly *Polityka*). Together they are depicted as almost managing to build a reformist consensus that might have saved the situation, had it not been squeezed out of political existence by ever more radical demands from within the party machine and the communist elite. The democratic party elections of July 1981 - the first fruits of the campaign for communist party democracy - actually produced a congress and central committee dominated not by radical reformers but by cautious representatives of local party machines who supported the tough anti-Solidarity line advocated by General Jaruzelski and urged by Moscow.

From the party congress in July - where the book ends - confrontation with Solidarity rapidly turned into suppression of the revolution. Evidently this line reflected the position of the majority of the party's

apparatus, who retained considerable inertia force despite losses at the polls, and the military who maintained their cohesion throughout the period. Given the decisive importance of these communist elite groups, it is a pity that Sanford says very little about their perceptions of 1980-81, particularly about the reforms they appeared to find acceptable. He does imply, however, that the experience of the state of war following martial law might now induce both elite and society to accept a reformist programme similar to that slowly introduced by Kádár in the wake of the revolution in Hungary.

However critical radical socialists may be of Kádárism - Fehér and Heller see it as a "enlightened police state" - it has proved remarkably successful. Over the last twenty years Kádárism has achieved not only the "consolidation" that even Fehér and Heller acknowledge but a certain popular consensus and legitimacy that they refuse to recognize. Since both these books show that radical revolutionary movements seem to founder on the rocks of elite resistance and Soviet intolerance, reformism along Kádár lines continues to offer the only feasible way forward for political change in Eastern Europe.

Alex Pravda

Alex Pravda is lecturer in politics at the University of Reading.

Starting points

Politics in Britain: an introduction

by Colin Leys

Heinemann Educational, £14.50 and £5.95

ISBN 0 435 83492 4 and 83493 2

Modern Politics and Government, third edition

by Alan R. Ball

Macmillan, £12.50 and £4.95

ISBN 0 333 35055 3 and 35056 1

In the study of British politics, six-formers and undergraduates have nowadays a range of introductory texts from which to choose. A number of the texts adopt a traditional institutional approach. Others seek to be more innovative. Colin Leys's *Politics in Britain* is an unusual, not to say strange, addition to the latter category.

The aim of the book, Leys asserts, is to provide an introduction which is "democratic and socialist". The author follows some of the methodological precepts of historical materialism but is far from adopting a conventional Marxist approach. The book is divided into five parts. In the first, Professor Leys seeks to show that Britain has known two general "crises" in the twentieth century, one before 1914 and the other beginning in the 1960s and still with us. In the second, he explores the relationship between capital and labour and the role of class. In the third, he examines political parties. In the fourth, he looks at the role of the state and in the fifth he provides a conclusion, or more accurately a non-conclusion, as to the future. After discussing various possible outcomes, he concludes essentially that what will happen cannot be predicted. "People do not follow a script: real life is always more complicated and surprising" (page 319).

The strength of this book is that it draws attention to the importance of the relationship between politics, economics and society and the need to bring a historical perspective to any study of contemporary British politics. However, it is marred by a number of defects. It is partisan (fairly openly so - the author's "socialist" aim); it is prone to include subjective asides and, more often, unsubstantiated and questionable assertions (sufficiently numerous for the practice to be irritating); and the analysis sometimes is given preference to the extent that descriptive material is squeezed out. The author comments that most people in Britain probably could not outlast the court system in Britain. After reading this book, they still won't be able to.

More significantly, the style and structure of the book are such that the points the author seeks to put across make little impact. There are some interesting - and, usually, thought-provoking observations, but the author fails to isolate and emphasize them in a way that will make them memorable. Students

in short, will find it heavy going. Alan Ball's *Modern Politics and Government* is a very different book. This, the third edition, is a revised and updated version of the previous edition. It constitutes a basic introduction to political concepts, institutions and political activity. It is succinct, clear and readable. The sub-divisions within each chapter make it a text very amenable to student use. It faces the problem of all such introductory works: trying to generalize without being too simplistic or dogmatic. On balance, it overcomes the problem and the author is good at emphasizing the need to avoid monolithic explanations. More supporting data for some of the author's more bald assertions would nevertheless be desirable. To be told that games theory is "another interesting development in political studies" (page 14) - without an explanation of what games theory is - is decidedly unhelpful.

As with all such texts, there is the danger that it will be a weak substitute as an end in itself, utilizing the author's definitions as a substitute for thought. The good student will use it as the author intended: as a useful starting point for further inquiry.

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